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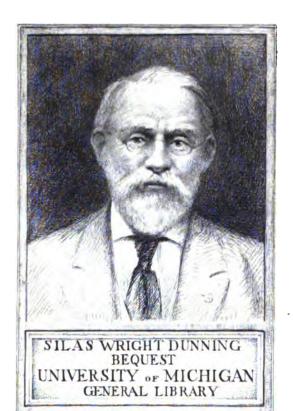
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# Archwologia Cambrensis,

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# Cambrian Arrheological Association.



VOL. VI. THIRD SERIES.

### LONDON:

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# PREFACE.

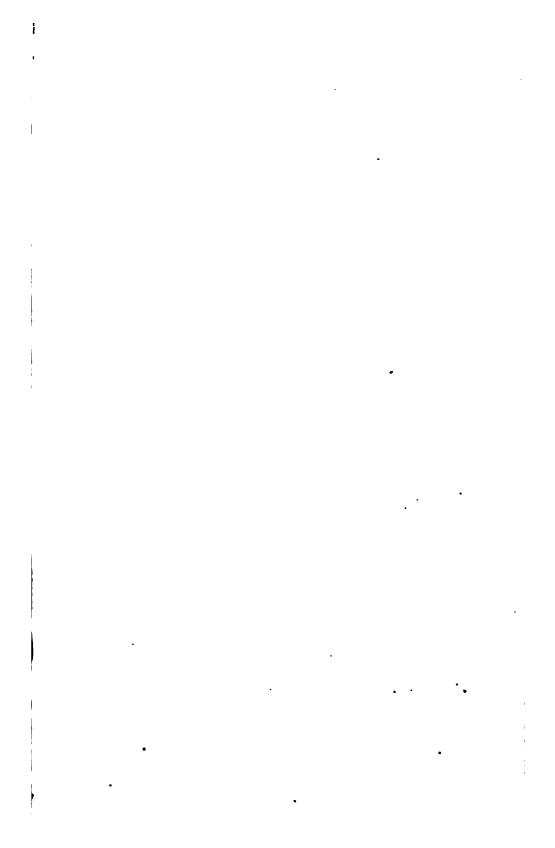
THE principal papers in this Volume are those referring to the Earls, Earldom, and Castle of Pembroke; the Political Geography of Wales; the Early Antiquities of Britanny; and the Early Inscribed Stones of Wales; for so great has been the pressure of matter in the portfolios of the Publishing Sub-Committee, that, in order to consult the wishes of Members, the series of illustrated architectural papers, the letters and papers of Edward Lhwyd, &c., have had to be temporarily suspended.

The branch of Welsh Antiquities which is connected with the Public Records of the Kingdom, and the Genealogical Records of Families, is likely to receive very great development; and, indeed, the pages of the Archæologia Cambrensis cannot, in their present extent, receive more than a small portion of the communications now rapidly accumulating under this head. The Association must ere long be called upon to take this matter into serious consideration, and to provide the means of more ample publication.

The Publishing Sub-Committee, while expressing their thanks to all Members for kind and constant co-operation, desire to say that they request more numerous contributions of architectural drawings than they have hitherto

received, especially of churches in North Wales. Plans and details, carefully measured, and fit for scientific purposes, are what they wish to obtain; merely picturesque delineations of any monuments, however beautiful as works of art, not being of much use for the special purposes of the Association. Photographs, however, are very valuable; and Members cannot render greater services towards illustrating the antiquities of their country than by causing photographic views to be taken of buildings, parts of buildings, and in fact any objects of antiquity. This may be done now in almost any town in Wales at a small cost; and the *loan* of such illustrations is earnestly requested of all Members of the Association.

Members are respectfully urged to be active in their researches, and accurate in their observations; and to communicate all illustrations, papers, letters, notes and queries, &c., direct to the Editor, at Mr. J. Russell Smith's, 36, Soho Square, London, W.







Tembroke Castle. Buldings 6. of Tech.

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# Archeologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXI.—JANUARY, 1860.

THE EARLS, EARLDOM, AND CASTLE OF PEMBROKE.

No. V.

THE EARLS MARKSCHAL.

(Continued from p. 245, Vol. V.)

Henry had not time to become jealous of his great subject and benefactor, who died just when his support was no longer necessary, and when his counsels would therefore probably have been neglected. The young king fell under the personal guardianship of the Bishop of Winchester, and De Burgh, who had been continued as Chief Justice, became regent of the kingdom.

The great Earl Mareschal's character was very differently regarded in the different countries in which he bore rule, and possessed property. In his epitaph, preserved by M. Paris, he is made to say,—

"Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hibernia; Solem Anglia; Mercurium Normannia; Gallia Martem."

Or thus,—

"Me Mars the French, their Sun the English owned, The Normans Mercury, the Irish Saturn found."

He had indeed been to Ireland an exterminator, to England a glory and an honour, in Normandy a subtle and successful negotiator, and in France an able and brave captain.

The Earl Mareschal had the advantage of being born a younger son, and he received, as is supposed, in consequence, an education preparing him for the judicial bench, a circumstance which, upon his brothers' death, must have added much to the personal influence due to his

large possessions.

He lived under four sovereigns of very different character; to all he was loyal, and of all he enjoyed the respect and confidence. He first appears in history as • the friend selected by Prince Henry, son of Henry II, to receive his dying penitence, and to proclaim it to the world by a public journey to Palestine. By Richard he was proposed as a surety to the King of France that England would share in the crusade, and when the pledge was redeemed he was one of the council left in charge of the kingdom. On Richard's death, John found him a zealous though not subservient supporter of his authority, but no partaker or adviser of his crimes. Excepting when on public service in Normandy or Ireland he seems always to have been in attendance upon the king, and he was one of those who paved the way for the great charter, and supported its authority afterwards.

As John began to be weighed down by the consequences of his conduct, he probably remembered the fidelity of his great subject to his brother Henry, and selected him as the guardian of his own infant son. To this personal charge was added that of regent of the divided kingdom at one of the most critical periods of its history, and by his firmness and clemency, no less than by his valour, he succeeded in driving out the invader, composing the civil war, and by using his power not, as was usual, to violate former concessions, but to confirm and extend them, he placed his infant sovereign at the head of a united, if not as yet a very loyal baronage.

It is to be lamented that so little has been preserved of his personal history, for he was almost the only layman of his age to whom the term statesman could, with propriety, be applied.

The Earl's hereditary property in England and Nor-

mandy was considerable, but was inferior to that acquired with his wife in Ireland and Wales. He held also many personal offices. As sheriff he farmed several counties, and the Patent Rolls record his various acqui-

sitions of land and feudal rights.

By will he left to the monks of Gloucester his mill at Castle-Goderich, and to those of Pembroke a tithe of the mills at Pembroke, Tenby, and Castlemartin. To the chapel of Our Lady at Caversham he left 15 acres of land westwards from the church. He left also other legacies. His acting executor was John de Erleye, who, 3 and 4 Henry III., claimed from Sampson Furmetin, the Jew, son of Abraham, 17 marks due to the estate. The matter was referred to a jury of four Jews and four Christians. (Cole, *Documents*, &c., 297, 327.)

The Earl's gifts when alive were commensurate with his means. In 1183 he founded an Augustin Priory at Cartmael, on land granted by Prince John. The priory adopted his arms, "per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules." (Monast. vi. 454.) Also he gave to the priory of Roncesvalles, in Normandy, certain tenements at Charing Cross, where now stands Northumberland House. In Ireland his chief foundations were the Augustin Priory of Kilrush, attached to Cartmael; in 1211 Kilkenny Priory; a priory at Loch Garmon, in Wexford; and Tintern or "Ex voto" Abbey on the shore of Barrow Bay, in Wexford, in discharge of a vow made when in danger of shipwreck. The monks were drafted from the elder Tintern on the Wye. He also made many lesser donations.

The secular clergy were less content with his deeds. He seems to have taken two manors from a Bishop of Ferns, who placed him under an excommunication pending which the earl died. On the bishop's complaint the king promised redress, but demanded an absolution which was thus given in the royal presence (Liber Hibern. 17):—

"O William, thou that here liest wrapped in the bonds of excommunication, if that thou hast injuriously taken away be re-

stored by the king, or thy heir, or thy friends, with competent satisfaction, I absolve thee. Otherwise I ratify thy sentence, that being wrapped in thy sins thou mayest remain damned in hell for ever."

Undismayed by this "brutum fulmen" the new earl, who, like most of his family seems to have been little under the influence of superstition, retained the manors, upon which the bishop cursed the whole race, and, as subsequent writers have said, predicted its extinction.

This extinction, which really did happen, and was made the most of by the Church, was not then a probable event. By Isabel de Clare the earl left six sons and five daughters. Of the sons, five became in succession earls of Pembroke. The sixth, John Mareschal, married Margery, sister and coheir of Thomas Earl of Warwick, who died s. p. 26 Henry III. As John died, also s. p., in or before 27 Henry III., he probably did not take seizin of Warwick Castle. His widow, who became Countess of Warwick, 28 Henry III., gave that title to John de Plessetis, her husband, who bore it till his death, 47 Henry III. (Peerage Report, ii. 156.)

As the daughters and their numerous descendants will be enumerated afterwards as the ultimate coheirs of the family, it is unnecessary to mention them in detail here.

Countess Isabel appears to have survived her lord, and to have completed, under his will, a Cistercian Abbey at Dowysken, in Ireland. (Dug. Bar. i. 63, 601.)

The effigy in the Temple Church usually supposed to represent the Earl Mareschal is of stone, cross-legged, with the feet upon a couchant lion. The armour is mail, partially covered with a surcoat or camise, and upon the shield is a lion rampant. The family bearing, however, seems to have been gules a bend lozengy or, a coat adopted in substance by the Raleighs of Nettlecombe, as early vassals of the Mareschal family. This also was the coat borne by the Mareschals of Ireland, one of whom, in the Roll of Caerlaverock, is described as

"E Guillems li Marescans Dout en Irelande ot la baillie La bende de or engreelie Portoit en la rouge baniere."

In the early days of heraldy, when "Rouge Dragon" was but a dragonet, the distinction between "lozengy" and "engrailed" was scarcely observed. In allusion to his office he placed two batons behind the shield upon his seal, a custom since followed by his successors.

IV.—WILLIAM MARESCHAL, Earl Mareschal, and of Pembroke, was well known in the barons' wars as William

Mareschal the younger.

Of his early career little is recorded. He espoused the barons' side against John, and thus, no doubt, increased the family influence. He appeared at Stamford, and was one of the twelve conservators for the enforcement of Magna Charta. In 1216 he was one of the excommunicated barons, and one of the twenty-five commissioners for the city of London. 22nd September, 1215, it appears from the *Liberate Rolls* that his wife Alicia had a safe conduct to England.

Upon John's death, and the progress of the French party, he joined his father, and fought for Henry III. at Lincoln, for which service he was amply rewarded, having grants of Mowbray's lands, afterwards redeemed, and of those of the Earl of Winchester, 10th April, and of Gilbert de Gant, 28th May, 1217. (R. L. Claus. i. 305, 309.) He was at the siege of Mount Sorrel. (Dug. Bar. i.

227.)

Upon his father's death in 1219 he succeeded at once to the honour and estates, having only a dispute with Hugh de Lacy about some claims on his Irish lands. 8th June he was security for certain acts on the part of Guy de Chatillon, son and heir of the Count de St. Paul, and who was to have his mother's land in Essex. Also he and John Mareschal were securities for a payment by Peter de St. Hilary, of Corston, co. Somerset, and Gunnora his wife, as he was also for William Crassus (Le Gros), for 50 marks, part payment of £100 to the king, that he may have custody of the lands and the marriage of Hawise, daughter and heiress of Thomas

de Londres, and a great heiress in Berks, Caermarthen, and Glamorgan. (Exc. e. R. F. i. 24, 40, 50-2.)

Henry being now quietly if not firmly seated on his throne, turned his attention to Wales, in which he was powerfully seconded by the Earl Mareschal, who led the royal forces, raised the siege of Builth, and probably assisted in the subsequent reconstruction of Montgomery Castle. (Dug. Bar. i. 444, 602, and M. Paris.) He also made a truce with Llewelyn. 26th September, 1222, he is called upon for certain arrears due from the late earl to the Exchequer. (Exc. e. R. F. i. 94.) In the same year he and the Earl of Surrey had a protection for themselves and their train, being about to enter Wales at the king's command. (C. R. Pat. 12, 13.)

Probably this was on the way to Ireland, which he then visited. While absent there the Flemings threw off their new and uneasy allegiance, and attacked and took Cardigan, an act which brought upon them the full power of Llewelyn, and seems to have led to a general war in West Wales, in the course of which, 7 Henry III., the castles of Cardigan and Kilgerran were taken by Llewelyn, the garrisons slain, and the country again wasted. The earl instantly returned, landed 1222 at St. David's, and vanquished Llewelyn in a pitched battle, in which the Prince is said to have lost 9000 men. 602.) This is no doubt a gross exaggeration, since, aided by Hugh de Lacy, the Welsh again immediately made So largely had Prince Llewelyn profited by the late troubles to recover his ground in South Wales, that the earl, when summoned from the rebuilding of Kilgerran to London, found it convenient to go and return by sea. 8 Henry III., the earl was made governor of Cardigan and Caermarthen Castles.

About this time the Welsh, not being, like King John, admitted to the hospitalities of Margam, burned two hundred abbey sheep and two horses, and in the following year, 1224, killed two abbey servants and a shepherd. (A. of Marg.)

22nd March, 1223, the earl confirmed the foundation

charter of Tintern. The new deed contains a complete and curious description of the abbey bounds and pro-

perty.

31st May, 1223, the lands in Suffolk of William de Charsfield, who had been hung for the death of John de Manestun, having been by the custom of England forfeited for a year and a day to the king, were granted by him to William Earl Mareschal and to Hubert de Burgh, a justice, towards their sustenance in the king's service. (Exc. e. R. F. i. 104.) This would seem from the date to apply to the present earl, and to invest him with a share in the judicial office, or at least of its fees; but Foss, from whose unrelenting accuracy there is no appeal, does not include him in any English judicial list. earl seems to have been much occupied at this time in the recovery of South Wales. Robert de Cadinan has remission, 14th May, 1224, of scutage, because his son Andrew served in his stead in the army in Wales under the Earl Mareschal, (ibid. 116,) and this was no doubt the reason that the earl had to account, 9 Henry III., for divers sums of money imprested to him from the Treasury, Quinzine and Mint, being part of a sum of £800. (Mad. i. 389.)

11th February, 1225, Henry ratified anew the great charter, and that of forests, making certain provisions for the better administration of justice. (Rot. Claus. ii. 77.) Maurice de Gant accompanied the earl into Wales to assist in building a castle. (Dug. Bar. i. 402.) He also confirmed his father's grants to Duisk Abbey, and 21st April and 8th December is mentioned as justice of Ireland.

1226 was a bitter year for Glamorgan. The Welsh burned St. Nicholas, Newcastle, and Laleston, and killed some of the people, and this they followed up in 1227 by burning the abbey granges of Pennuth and Rossaulin, with many sheep and oxen, a process which they repeated in 1228 on St. Nicholas and St. Hilary. (A. of Marg.) Glamorgan, from Gower to the walls of Cardiff, seems to have been annually overrun, the various changes in the earldom of Gloucester consequent upon the death

of Earl William, in 1173, and the short reigns of his successors, five of whom died before 1261, having left the country without any organized defence. This also was the year of Henry's grand but unsuccessful attack upon the Welsh, which ended in Llewelyn's real victory, though nominal submission. From this time for several years the Welsh were in the ascendant, and each year witnessed their inroads upon the English colonies, more especially those in the south and west. (Powell.) Nor were Henry's Norman subjects much more obedient, for, 7th June, 1227, the Earl of Cornwall having, on his return to England, quarrelled with his brother about a manor taken from his earldom and given to Waleran le Teys, passed into rebellion, fled to the Earl Mareschal, his sworn friend, at Marlborough, whence with other discontented lords they moved to Stamford, where they claimed or obtained from Henry, then much pressed for funds for his French war, a confirmation of the forest charter, cancelled by him at Oxford. This feud however seems to have been patched up when they all met in August, at Northampton, (Dug. Bar. i. 762,) and Pembroke was named lieutenant of all the royal forces on this side the seas, the king being about to go abroad. (C. R. P. 15.) In this year, 1228, the earl had the manor of Aure, and he founded a black friary at Kilkenny. (Sir T. Ware.)

1229, on the death of William, last Baron de Braose, of the elder house, the earl, his wife's brother, had cus-

tody of his Northamptonshire lands.

1230 he was beyond sea with the king, preparing for a French war, and on the king's return was appointed, by patent dated 26th September, 14 Henry III., to command all the royal forces in Britanny and beyond sea. (C. R. P. 15.) The Welsh again burned St. Nicholas and St. Hilary, which seem to have possessed a power of reproduction unknown in these modern days. There was also at the same time (July) a serious rising in Connaught, (Brady, ii. 511,) which, on his return from the continent, he appears to have been sent to put down. (Dug. i. 603.)

15 Henry III., the Earl of Cornwall married his second wife, the earl's beautiful sister Isabel, widow of the Earl of Gloucester. He came from Britanny to be present at the marriage (Wilkes); and this must have been his last appearance in public, for soon afterwards, 6th April, 15 Henry III., 1231, he died, and was buried, 15th April, near his father in the Temple Church, one of the remaining effigies in which has been generally supposed to represent him. His death was the cause of much joy among the Welsh, against whom he was said to entertain

inveterate enmity. Henry professed great affection for the earl, and appears to have spoken of his loss as a national calamity, since, according to Matthew Paris, on seeing the corpse he exclaimed, "Woe! woe! woe is me! the blood of the blessed Martyr Thomas is not yet wholly avenged!" A public document states that "the king learns with sorrow the death of the Earl of Pembroke." The royal grief did not however prevent the king from taking possession at once of all the earl's hereditaments in Ireland, held in capite, on the ground that his heir was liegeman to the king's enemy, the King of France. (C. R. P. 15.) On the 12th April, 1231, these estates were committed to Waleran le Teys, who was made answerable for all payments due to the Exchequer. (Exc. e. R. F. i. 212.) 28th September the Barons of the Exchequer were to give a respite till a month beyond Easter to John Mareschal, an executor of William Mareschal, for rendering the "compotus" of the earl's debts to the crown. because John is gone to Ireland about the countess's dower and the king's business. (*Ibid.* i. 217.)

On the earl's death Llewelyn marched across South Wales, and burned Caerleon, but failed to take the castle, then held by Morgan ap Howell. In his retreat he lost some of his men in the Usk, but destroyed Kenfig, and laid siege to Neath. (A. of M.) In this year the honour of Caermarthen and Cardigan was bestowed upon Hubert de Burgh, and his wife Margaret, eldest sister of Alexander of Scotland. (Dug. Bar. i. 695.)

Earl William married first, 1203, Alice, or Havoise, daughter and heiress of Baldwin de Betune, Earl of Albemarle, and Seigneur de Choques, by Hawise, daughter and sole heiress of William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle. On the marriage, Baldwin endowed her, 5 John, in frankmarriage with Brabourne, Sutton, and Remesing in Kent; Luton, Beds; Rollesham, Norf.; Wanting, Berks; Severnstoke, Worcester; and Norton, Northamptonshire. (Dug. Bar. i. 63; Hasted, i. 326; Anselm, ii. 877.) She died childless.

He married secondly, 10 Henry III., Eleanor, second daughter to King John, and sister to Henry III., who also brought him no offspring. This marriage was made without the consent of the king, who records his indignation at it in the Patent Rolls. (C. R. P. 10 Henry III.)

Countess Eleanor was a lady who, in her day, created no small scandal. She, with her niece, Joan de Munchensy, was educated by Cecilia de Sanford, and tutoress and pupil, on the widowhood of the latter, made formal vows of chastity. Cecilia however married William de Gorham, and Eleanor to the great displeasure of her family, remarried, 7th January, 1238, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. The king was prevailed upon to give her away, and they were married in the royal chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster.

Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, is said to have been banished for his hostility to the marriage, and on his departure to have cursed the offspring. The Earl of Cornwall did not hear of it until March, and his anger was probably influenced the king, who formally, though somewhat tardily, expressed his indignation. The objection indeed seems not to have been so much to the marriage, as to its late accomplishment, for in August, 1239, Henry most indiscreetly called Simon the seducer of his sister, and refused to allow him to attend the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anselm says that Alice, ninth child of John Earl of Hainault, Holland and Zealand (ob. 1304), by Philippa de Luxembourg, married first William Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, and second Roger Earl of Norfolk. (Maison Royals de France, ii. 788.)

churching of the queen. Before this, no doubt immediately upon the marriage, 22 Henry, De Montfort went to Rome, and to the disgust of the English clergy obtained a dispensation. During his absence the countess was brought to bed of a son at Kenilworth. In later years she took an active part in her husband's rebellion, and after the battle of Evesham, and Earl Simon's death, defended Dover Castle until betrayed by the Constable, when she fled to France. (Joh. de Oxenides, 208.)

Henry and Edward appear always to have treated her with kindness, and continually to have acquitted her

debts to the exchequer.

7th January, 1244, the king quitted his sister and the Earl of Leicester £1000 due from the former during her widowhood. 22nd February, 1246, the countess had a respite for certain scutages due. (Exc. e. R. F. i. 410, 448.)

29th January, 1248, Anne (Eleanor) Countess of Pembroke and Leicester, our sister, is guitted for all arrears which she owes upon her dower manors of Wexcomb and Bedewinde, and for life of £30 which she was accustomed to pay annually for the fee farms of those manors. (*Ibid.* i. 285, ii. 26.) Also, 19th July, 1249, Roger Bigod is directed to pay into the exchequer his share of the countess's Irish dower of £400 per annum. (*Ibid.* ii. 57; C. R. P. 20.) And 16th June, 1251, the Barons of the Exchequer are to apportion this sum among the coheirs, so that it may be paid to the Earl and Countess of Leicester. (*Ibid.* ii. 57.) In 1273, at the intercession of the French king, Edward I. restored her Pembroke dower lands. She died at Montargis, 1274, having had by De Montfort five sons and a daughter; and 17th July, 15 Edward I., the king, being at Paris, paid £63 1s. 8d. to the abbess and nuns of St. Antoine, near Paris, for a debt due from the countess, whose estate he seems to have represented. (Issue Roll, p. 98.) Her household book, a very curious document, is preserved in the British Museum, and has been edited in a very complete manner by Mr. Botfield, for the Roxburgh Člub.

(To be continued.)

#### LETTERS OF EDWARD LHWYD.

(Continued from p. 254, Vol. V.)

For the Rev. Mr Hicks Foulks Rector of St George

Oxford. Jan 18. 1707.

Dear Sr

Yours of Dec 27. came safe and I have also since received y 51.7s; for both which I return my hearty thanks.

I over looked the Book De Gravioribus Cambria incomodis; because, to tell you the truth, I then look'd upon it as onely a mistake for Giraldus's tract De illaudabilibus Wallia; but, consulting now the place you refer to, I have nothing to say but that I never heard in my travells &c of any such treatise. Doctor, as I take it, was your countryman, and I know none more proper to recommend that research unto than yourselfe. Wherever his papers are, if not scattered or partly condemned to mince pies, they would probably be very usefull and instructive; and I should expect to find amongst his printed books a Dictionary I have been long in quest of, entitled, Joannis Lagadec (Legonidec?) Catholicon Aremorico-Francico-Latinum printed at Tre-guir A° 1495. It's mentioned in the preface to Du Fresne's Glossary, and I have formerly sent to France about it, but received no answer. The vocabulary published at Paris by Yvon Quilliver, perused by Dr Davies, seems to have been but a triffle (sic) to it, the word Catholicon being, as I take it, used (in the barbarous Latin) for copious Dictionaries onely. The Manks Catechism I miss'd to have a copy of, being out of town when the Bishop was here and enquired for me. Their language is not onely a dialect of the Irish, as the Cornish of the British, but is also (what we cannot say of the Cornish) as intelligible to the people of Ireland as a Scottishman is in South Britain. hope the Bishop took care to have the Catechism read to 3 or 4 people in manuscript before put it in the presse, (sic) and so to adapt the orthography to their pronunciation with extraordinary care. Tis certain that whoever perus'd, never reade page of Irish or Manksh, (sic) for he uses not onely the English orthography, for which I should never find any fault, but often makes 2 or 3 words of one, and as often unites as many.

You desired formerly an account of 15 Lhwyth Gwynedd. All that I have to say at present I here send you, which are som notes of Mr. Vaughan of Hengwrt's collecting.

A marginal note in the original-"Wilson Bp. of Man."

1. Braint Hir of Isdulas in Rhos, flourished according to Powel of Ednop (who made Latin verses on 'em all) A° 650; but according to Gyttyn Owen 876.

2. Bran ab Dyfnwal 1170.

3. Ednowen Bendew Arglwydd Tegeingl, now Flintshire 1015, at 1079.

4. Ednowen ab Bradwen 1194.

5. Edwyn ab Gronw, Brenin Tegeingl 1041.

6. Gwerngwy 1175

Gweryd.

8. Hwva ab Kynddelw in Anglesey 1150.

- 9. Hedd Molwynog of Uwch Aled; whence the Lhwyds of Havod unos, Lhwyn y Maen, Lhanvorda, Drenewydd, Blaen y Ddôl &c. 1170. He was descended of Lhywarch hen and so to Koel Godebog.
  - 10. Kilmyn Droedty A° 843 is supposed to have lived (at)

Lhivon Carnshire.

11. Kolhwyn ab Tagno (sic) 877. was Lord of Ardudwy, Evionydd, and Lhŷn, and lived at Harlech, called then Caer Kolwhyn.

12. Marchydd ab Kynan of Uwch dulas, Lord of Abergele,

lived at Bryn Fanigl 846 at 913.

13. Marchweithian Lord of Is Aled in Rhyfoniog owner of Karnedd vynydd, Din Kadvael &c 913.

14. Maelog Krwm 1175.

15. Nevydd hardd o nan Conwy (sic).

Mr. Vaughan and others comonly call these men "Tribes" as when they write "Hwva ab Kynddelw, one of ye 15 tribes of N. Wales &c" not reflecting (it should seem) that by *Lhwyth* was meant the descendents from such a person, and not the person himselfe.

Tydyr Trevor was father of yo Tribe of the Marches Ao 940.

I am y' most oblig'd friend and H. Ser' E. Lhwyd.

I had almost forgot to acquaint you that I sent books to S<sup>r</sup> R. Mostyn, S<sup>r</sup> J. Conway, and Mr. Davies, all directed, as you had advised, to . . . . at Denbigh. Mr. Davies I find has had his book: but I find S<sup>r</sup> R. & S<sup>r</sup> J. Conway had books sent henc (sic) the same time I sent those from London. If you are acquainted with S<sup>r</sup> Paul Pindar's heir &c.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This letter is not in the handwriting of Mr. Lhwyd, but is a copy of the original. Of nearly the same date is another paper in the same collection, consisting of extracts of letters from E. Lh. to Mr. H. Foulks; and the two are probably in Mr. F.'s own writing.

Lond. Aug. 8. 1707

Dear S'

I have been in a Hurry since my comming (sic) to this Town else I had long since returnd my thanks for your obligeing letter. I have heard nothing from my good friend Mr Mostyn of Penbedu (sic) since he recd my Book thô I had requested the favour of a line upon his receiving it. However I hope there's nothing in the Book that may displease. Master of the Roll's Gentleman excepted against the person to whom 'twas dedicated. The truth is I should never have thought of Sr Thomas Mansel but that he had been so constantly active in procuring subscriptions and payments, and so much the author of the undertaking from the beginning; that I must have shewed too much ingratitude if I had dedicated it to any one else. I have orderd Mr Parry to send the Books you mention by the Hosier Morvs ab Evan, web I presume he'll not neglect. As for Mr. Young's proposal, the Ten Shilling subscribers are enterd amongst my patrons according to Alphabet without distinction from those of Five Pounds annually. But considering the expense I was at in travelling, I had once no thoughts of presenting them with Books, but he having subscribd voluntarily and made due payments without any dunning, I am very willing he may have a book in quire with hearty thanks: and shall send him one hence to be left with Mr. Godfrey Lloyd of Wrexham, the 1st conveniency (sic). I pay half a crown here for the binding each Book, which I desire you'd please to receive from him when you meet. As for the Amanuensis mentiond in my last; you must know that two of them being offerd about three months before, out of Cardiganshire, I had orderd one of them should be sent up upon tryal; but receiving no answer in two months space, I concluded he was to be otherwise disposed of, and therefore writ to you: but, the very day I set out from Oxford, or the next, the young man came thither himself; and, finding I was gone, followed me hither. I don't question but one of your choosing would have proved fitter for my Turn, and a better scholar. However he seems as yet an industrious and sober youth, and there's some hopes he may doe very well. Sr Robert Owen's paper of Subscribers would not be communicated when I was in the countrey. However Sr Wm Williams payd for the time then past, which was three years, and so did Mr Lloyd of Aston and Mr Bridgeman of Lhan ym Mlodwell (sic). hope they have ere this payd the remaining two years to my order. If Mr. Roberts and Mr. Mostyn are pleased to contribute stil what they once design'd, 'twill be equally acceptable and a very seasonable encouragement towards the next volume,

wherein, if it please God I may live to publish it, their Subscription shall be gratefully acknowledgd amongst the Subscribers

publishd before this.

The Linguists and Antiquaries in these parts are so well satisfied with this volume that it sels much beyond what could be expected of a book so forreign. I dispose of all constantly at the same rate, which is Sixteen shillings in quires to those who have not subscribd; and nine & sixpence to those who have payd their crowns. Mr Baxter whom you may perhaps have a notion of from his Edition of Horace, had written an account of it to the Secr. of the R. S. who, I am told, designs to print it in one of the Transactions. I have but just room to add respects to all friends and to subscribe myself worthy Sr

Y' most oblig'd Frd & humble Servt EDW. LHUYD (sic).
For the Reverend M' John Lloyd at the Free School in Ruthin Denbighshire, Chester post.

Hond Sr

Oxford Nov ij 1707

I should by no means have so long defer'd my thanks for the favour of your letter by D' Wyn, but that I thought myself oblig'd to peruse first the translation of D' Well's Epistles which you had mention'd as sent by D' Stratford. The D's answer the 1st time was that the box was not come; and this morning he sayd he had searched for those papers, but could not find them; but added, stil there's a box or two not yet open'd. I am told there's an other translation of then done by one Mr Jenkin Lloyd, a Glamorganshire clergyman; but in all probability your neighbour's is the fitter for the publick. It's the greatest encouragement to me that could ever happen, to find y' self the Bishop of Hereford's and some others to approve in some measure of this 1st volume. Some leading men of our own nation were pleasd to take private occasions of talking slightly of it, whilst twas in the press, which has done it no small prejudice; and I have been told since the publishing that the same mean notion of it is stil retain'd. But when several agree in an approbation we have no reason to be discourage'd (sic) at the contrary sentiment of a particular person or two, who, thô they may talk notably in general, have yet given the world no proof of their talent in such studies. As to the sale I know not what to say til I hear out of Ireland and Scotland; having sent 100 to Dublin and ventur'd 50 amongst the novantique northern Britans (sic). D' Mollineux of Dublin had, before I sent over the book, got

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Gilbert Ironside.

ten of their Bishops and thirty of the gentry to subscribe on the back of a title-page that they would take books; several of them having seen the Irish-English Dictionary, which being 1st printed had layn at a Bookseller's shop two years before the whole book was publish'd. I have had the honour of an obliging letter from the Primat; but know not as yet how it takes in general in either of those kingdoms.

I return most humble thanks for your kind invitation; and shall most thankfully accept of it, if ever it be my fortune to come again into North Wales. D' Wyn has given me a further account of your artificial caves, which I take to be the only curiosity extant of the kind. I receive the curiosities you were pleasd to sent (sic) by Mr John Mostyn, and most heartily beg pardon, I had not sooner return'd my most humble thanks; which, being then a litle (sic) busy, I deferrd and afterwards quite neglected. As for the remainder I know not well what 1st to set upon; but I am sure I have materials for three or four volumes. Dr Aldridge has been talking some years about publishing a Casar's Commentaries; and has expected some notes on the names of persons and places from the Bishop of Hereford. If he would goe on with it, I should be willing to add to it an Onomologia Britannica (or Celto-Britannica), or a dissertation on the method of nameing persons and places, us'd amongst the Gauls and Britans. There has been nothing of that kind, that I know of, as yet attempted: and perhaps the learned part of my subscribers would think that part of my time as well bestowd as any.

I am Most Hond Sr your ever oblig'd humble servant E. LHUYD (sic).

All the subscribers have books presented to them excepting such as have not payd &c. Some have paid nothing, as particularly the E. of Carbury; who was pleas'd to deny his handwriting, and appeal to his man, who seconded him.

For the honoured Richard Mostyn Esq at Penbedw in Den-

bighshire Chester post

Dear Sr

Oxford Nov. 23. 1707

This comes with hearty wishes to find you in perfect good health and brings you the unfeignd service of a sincere veteran friend. I hope that by this time the subscribers have been pleasd to send you the remaining payments. If so, I would desire you to send it by Morys ab Ievan, or else to return it to London to the hands of my scribe Alban Thomas, who lodges at one Popins in

the midle row in St Giles's in the Fields. The Book has been now so long amongst you that you are able by this time to acquaint me with the several objections that have been made to it; which I should be very desireous to be told of, that I may endeavour either to avoid the like faults, or to make some sort of amends in the next volume. I have promisd to pay off some remains due to my paper man before Christmass, which is the reason of this rude Dun. Dr Foulks has been pleasd long since to order me to take up his money from Mr Harry Clements; but I know not what books he has had, besides that which was due to him as a generous contributer (sic); and therefore I desire either himself or you to satisfy me at your let leasure. I can think of no news worth sending; so shall add nothing but humble and hearty respects to the Doctor from

His and y' much oblig'd Friend & humble servant

E. LHUYD.

P.S. Pray learn, as much as you can, in whose hands the Grants or Charters of the Religious houses in Denbigh shire and Flintshire may be. S' Thomas Mansel has sent me lately all these (sic) of his Abbey of Margan (sic) which are 205; & they give me much more instruction than I was aware of. I suppose no Gentlman that's any thing a scholar would scruple to lend them; but for those that are in other hands we are not to expect them. You acquainted me, a great many years since, that there was an authentic Record extant that a servant of St Patric's was the 1st Rector of Kerig i Dridion. Whatever that record be, I should be very glad of a copy of it; thô there may be a mistake of the sense of the words; because Guás Patric might have been onely a Christian name of one much later; as 'tis certain Kospatric amoungst the Cumbian Britans was (sic). And, amongst those who granted charters to the Abbey of Margan, (sic) I find one calld Was-meir and an other War-Mihazel. If any such old records are communicable I would gladly have them transcribd by Mr Samuel, since I am like to have nothing else for thirty shillings I layd out for a gown for him about three years since. I would get this frank'd, but that I know not who of my friends are at present at Parliament. However you may venture the inclosing yours to Brown Willis Esq. Member of Parliament at Westminster. I suppose you have heard that Mr Smith of Brasen Nose is Principal of Hart Hall in the room of Mr Thornton deceasd.

For the Reverend M<sup>r</sup> John Lloyd Schoolmaster at Ruthin Denbighshire.

Chester post.

Oxford Dec. 6. 1707

Hond Sr

Having since my last receiv'd the translation of Dr Wells's letter, I gave it Williams the translator of the Armoric Grammar &c in my Book; being one whom I knew to be much more conversant than I in printed Welsh. I have here inclosed a specimen of his corrections, referring to the 1st thirteen pages; thô the author can not altogether understand him, til I have an opportunity (if it may seem tanti) of returning the original. told Williams that there were but few of his corrections anything material; and that some of them were onely such words as he was ignorant of, on account of his Cardiganshire dialect; so that his exceptions signified nothing when compared with the good consequence of publishig the translation. His answer was that what he did was onely because I desird him &c. and that he was willing to refer the matter to the author of Bard Kusk (sic). So, finding him an irrefragable Mazorite, I had no more to say. Upon the whole matter, if it be to be printed here, I think 'twould not be amiss to make him corrector of the Press; allowing him some small matter extraordinary, for such emenda-I sent Sr Roger Mostyn a book of the large paper from London, being told Mr Parry had neglected to send one hence, as I had orderd. But I find since that he had also sent one by our Oxford Carrier about the same time. If he has receiv'd both, I wish he should meet with a chapman for one of them. I had two guineas for one of them in quires, of a London Booksellers; which was the onely one of that paper, I have sold; and that was because a certain Lord of our Countrey, for whom 'twas design'd, had forgot his handwriting when the subscription book was shewd him. I am

Most Hond Sr yr ever obligd humble Servant

Ed. LHUYD.

For the honoured Richard Mostyn of Penbedw Esq. Denbighshire

Chester post.

Oxford 7ber 1. 1708

Dear Sr

I have but just time (for want of better fore cast) to acquaint you that I sent you several months since a long scrible by the post, which I hope came safe to hand. Mr Baxter's letters, I then mention'd, you will now receive. If you send here and there one of them to a subscriber, perhaps they'll entertain a more favourable opinion than they have had hitherto. I assure you I sould very lately a douzen (sic) of them to some

Cambridge gentlemen at 18 and sixpence a book bound; and that I have not sold one of them, excepting to subscribers, under 16° in quires. You'll receive by the bearer Dr Scheuchzer of Zurich's Itinera Alpina tria, which I beg your acceptance of. design'd one bound, but could get none and had not time to bind that I send. My hearty respects to our old Frd Ned Humphreys when you see him; and acquaint him that I have threttnd (sic) the Carrier if he does not bring up Coriander seed for the book which Mr Simon Lloyd return'd him. His subscription was but ten shillings; and he had made onely three payments. You know my proposals for a Sallary (sic) towards the expence of travelling &c without any promise of a book; thô in gratitude I was willing to present all who had fully (sic) according to their subscriptions. If you please to direct your letters inclosed to the Hond John Pugh Esq. Membr of parliament at his chamber in the Inner Temple 'twill come free to the hands of

Dr Sr Yr affectionat friend & humbl serv<sup>t</sup> E. LHUYD.

For the Reverend Mr Jon Lloyd at Blaen i ddol
Merionethshire.

(To be continued.)

## CHARTER OF ABERAVON, GLAMORGANSHIRE.

The following is a translation of the charter of Aberavon (Avon or Avene), produced during some inquiries into the corporation property not many years ago. The original is preserved in the town chest of the corporation, a huge tree rudely carved into a box, but is so jealously guarded by the mayor, a very poor man, and the other authorities of the borough, that it is not now accessible. The poor inhabitants of this decayed borough are afraid of becoming absorbed by a powerful neighbour, or of being otherwise "improved off the face of the earth"—not without cause. Hence their reluctance to show any deeds in their possession. In this they are not singular; a great repository of charters in the same county, as well as the most important castle, are as much fenced,

against even the scientific and archæological world, as this last relic of municipal importance.

J.

"To all Christians who may see or hear this present writing.

"Thomas de Avene Son of Sir John de Avene, Lord of Avene wisheth everlasting Salvation in the Lord.

"Know ALL MEN.—That I have granted a release, and for me and my heirs have Quit Claimed to all my Burgesses & Chencers, and all my Englishmen within my Town of Avene and out of the Town.

"All Liberties in the said Town of Avene and in my whole Lordship within the limits of Avene which they have and enjoy by virtue of a Grant from the Lord Leison ap Morgan in words to this effect.—Be it Known to this present and to all future generations that I Leison ap Morgan Lord of Avene have given, granted and by this my present Charter have confirmed to all my English Burgesses and Chencers of Avene and their heirs and assigns, All liberties in my Town of Avene and throughout my whole Lordship within the limits of Avene, which the Burgesses of Kenffig have in the Town of Kenffig within the Lordship of the Earl of Gloucester and Hereford as far as in me lies. I have also granted for me my heirs and assigns to my said Burgesses and Chencers of Avene and their heirs or assigns, freely, quietly, well and peacebly, and without impeachment, Housebote and Hedgebote to all my Tenants woods and they shall have common Pasture freely and peacebly for ever in all places, woods, meadows, pasture and pasture grounds in the open Season for the Year upon my lands. And also that Pasture ground in the side of Dinas which is between Karnwerndrech and a place called Kae Kedrech and from the arable at Tireskyr to the arable land on the Top of the Dynas at all times of the year. And if it should happen that I my heirs or assigns should inclose my lands, and the inclosure be broken through by the cattle of the Said Burgesses or Chencers, the tenants are to make up and repair the said inclosure. And they shall also have common pasture in the open time of the year in all woodlands, meadows, pasture and pasture grounds belonging to my tenants of which rank or quality soever they be. And moreover, I Thomas, Son of Sir John De Avene have granted released, and for me my heirs have quit claimed to all my Burgesses and Chencers and all my Englishmen all that pasture ground which lies between Pwll-y-Scythan and Clawdd y Person and between the burrows or Sea Shore and the lands called Tir Madrim to be depastured by all their cattle. And that they may also have common pasture every where in my Burrows at all times of the



Rhos Maen. Druidical Circle. Scale 20 Feet to an Inch

Rudnorshire.

MMozgredge del

J. Kla hour h



year with all their cattle. So neither I the Said Sir Thomas nor my heirs nor any assigns shall have it in our Power to challenge, claim, or demande any right or title in the aforesaid liberties but are for ever by these presents excluded therefrom.

"And I Sir Thomas De Avene and my heirs and assigns will warrant, discharge, maintain and defend for ever, all the liberties and all premises aforesaid to all the Said Burgesses or Chencers, and their heirs or assigns against all mankind. But for and in consideration of this my Grant, release donation and quit claim, my Said Burgesses and Chencers have Paid me in hand Two Marks of Sterling Money.

"In witness whereof, I have Set my Seal to this present Quit,

Claim, before these Witnesses.

"HENRY ABBOT OF MARGAM
THOMAS RECTOR OF AVENE
JOHN LOVEL
RHESE LEYA
WILLIAM AP OWEN
MADOCK LLOYD
EVAN AP DAVID FACH

"Dated at Avene the next Monday after the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist in the twenty-fourth Year of the Reign of King Edward the third after the Conquest (1351.)"

## DRUIDIC CIRCLE, RHOSMAEN, RADNORSHIRE.

(Read at Cardigan.)

The druidic circle on Rhosmaen crowns a dome-like elevation, one of the many which rise out of the undulating plain that intervenes between the Llandegley Hills and Radnor Forest. Much regularity is seen in this particular little hill, the sides of which slope at an angle of 18° in every direction; and as it is nearly in the centre of an amphitheatre of mountains, here broken by the earthwork of the ancient Briton, there thrown into almost fantastic outline by eruptive masses of traprock, the scene is one of mingled beauty and wildness. Never have I met with a spot so appropriate for the

accommodation of a large assemblage; nations might have attended there to witness the druidic rites,—whether religious ceremonies, or of a funereal character, I stop not to inquire. Hill after hill occupies its appropriate place in that magnificent amphitheatre. On the one hand is the range of the Mynydd Carneddau, the mountains of the graves,—and well do they deserve that name; on the other, the hills of Radnor Forest complete the circle.

The tomen on the road from Llandegley to New Radnor bears N. 46° E.; a maenhîr on the neighbouring common, N. 11° W.; and the precipitous rock of Graigfawr is distant one mile to the west. And here I may mention the obligation I am under to Sir Roderick Murchison, who in that great work which will carry his name down to remote posterity, while laying bare with a master hand the geological secrets of the Silurian era, has not omitted to notice some of the most remarkable archæological remains; thus drawing my attention to this relic of the olden time.

The circle is, as will be seen by reference to the plan, exceedingly well marked. It is 237 feet in circumference, and 37 stones have thus far escaped the ruthless hand of man. The heights of the principal stones, and their distances from one another, are also there indicated with a precision for which I am much indebted to Mr. Curley, a gentleman of high scientific attainments, whose acquaintance I was fortunate enough to make at Llandrindod Wells.

M. Moggridge, F.G.S.

#### RYS AP GRIFFITH AP ARON, HIS WILL.

(From a very old, if not contemporary, copy at Peniarth.)

In dei nomine Amen xx. die Maij anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo sexto, Ego Rys ap Griffith ap Aron, sana et integra mente, tamen aliqualiter eger in corpore, et intendens partes alienas meare, condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam deo, beatæ Mariæ, omnibus Sanctis cæli &c: corpusque meum sacræ sepulturæ, ubicumque deus disposuerit. Item facio ordino et constituo Griffith, John, Thomas, filios meos, et Katrinam matrem eorum, uxorem meam, meos veros et legitimos executores quibus Johanni, Griffith, et Thome, filiis meis, Katrinæ uxori meæ, lego omnia terra (sic) et tenementa mea, ac omnia bona et catalla, mobilia et immobilia, ut ipsi si fuerint post decessum meum, disponant prout ipsis melius videbitur expedire, et magis proficere animæ meæ, secundum visum Griffith Vycham ap Griffith ap Eigan,1 Gruffith ap Eden ap Aron, et Johannis ap David Lloyt, quasi tutores et conciliatores suprascriptorum executorum in hac parte. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum posui coram testibus, dominis David ap Yvan, Jevan ap Meredith, et Geffrei Stopoyt. Datum in domo mansionis meæ apud Maespenniarth die et anno supradictis &c: Ac eciam volo ut ipsi testes sint supervisores ac auxiliantes prædictorum executorum in omnibus licitis et honestis.

Rys ap Griffith ap Aron was owner of Peniarth, in Merionethshire, and a lineal descendant of Ednowain ap Bradwen, the fifteenth of the fifteen tribes of North Wales. Ednyfed ap Aron, an uncle of Rys, is said to have concealed Owen Glyndwr, during his reverse of fortune, in a cave on the sea-side, in the parish of Llangelynin, Merionethshire, still known as Ogof Owain—Owen's Cave. The testator must have outlived his visit to foreign parts, as he was foreman of a grand jury for the county of Merioneth in 32 Henry VI., and was living in 1481. In one of the Hengwrt MSS. is an ode addressed to him by the bard Rys Pennardd—"Dur yw Rys i dorri mon."

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of Corsygedol, ancestor to the powerful family of Vaughan of that place, now extinct.

ranged with the first and second class in point of antiquity, was continued down to the earliest introduction of Christianity, and perhaps, in some rare instances, was used after that period to commemorate the interment of the semi-Romanized British Princes.

The Druids, at a prehistoric period, were undoubtedly the patriarchal rulers of the first Celtic colony that landed in Britain from the East, and introduced their usages and religion. The Triads, the only reliable digest of the oral traditions of that early age, of which we possess only some fragments, state that this colony found the island uninhabited, and the abode of wolves, bears, and other wild animals. These priests appear not to have been idolaters, in a strict sense, but, as the descendants of Zoroaster, were fire worshippers, and held that element as the purest emblem of the Creator; imitating, in this respect, the Hebrew rites of the true religion. They also, in like manner, forbade the use of any tool upon the altars they erected, or of any graven image as a memorial of the dead upon their tombs, or other stones of remembrance.2

Carneddau, stone heaps, and tumuli, were raised of old, not only to mark the interment of priests, heroes, and kings, but were often commemorative of great national events and compacts, and sometimes of even those of rebellion and crime.

The earliest of such burials that we find recorded in the Bible is that of the cave in the field, as it is termed, of Ephron, in Machpelah, which Abraham bought as a family mausoleum, wherein to bury his wife Sarah; and there also, afterwards, Joseph's body was conveyed out of Egypt (at least his bones were), after having been first

<sup>2</sup> Similar altars were erected by the Israelites. No tool to be used. See Exodus xx. 24, 25; Deuteronomy v. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fire was to Moses and the children of Israel the visible emblem of God. See Exodus iii. 2 to 5; xxxiv. 29, 30, 35; xl. 33; also, Leviticus x. 2; Numbers xvi. 35; Deuteronomy iv. 12, 15, 24, "for the Lord is a consuming fire," 36; v. 22, 25; ix. 15; and xxxiii. last part of verse 2; Judges vi. 21.

embalmed, according to the custom of the Egyptians; and it may not be deemed too great a stretch to conjecture that the earlier Celts imitated this patriarchal rite by the burial of their priests and first law-givers, the Druids, under the Llech,3 more recently termed crom-lech, by modern antiquaries, prior to the custom of burning the bodies, which arose at a subsequent period, for the Egyptians never used fire for that purpose; but the Pyramids, which were the depositories of their illustrious dead, were, no doubt, the original types of the tumuli that most of the less erudite nations of the East raised for similar purposes. The urn, when fire accompanied such, was subsequent to this primitive mode of interment; for we find that the Israelites, although they embalmed their kings after the Egyptian fashion, burnt them also, as we learn from the 16th chapter of 2nd Chronicles, latter part of the 14th verse, and the 21st chapter, end of 19th verse.

The burial under the low Llech, which I assume to have been the earliest mode, and appropriated only to the Druids, was extremely simple, and, generally, was unaccompanied by the weapons or relics that are found in interments of the chiefs or warriors of the succeeding class, although many of those that occupied the cistfaen, or bedd petrual, might have been equally ancient.

Most of the low lechau that formed the Druid graves were originally covered with heaps of stone, or carneddau;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Llech. This name by antiquaries has been altered to crom-lech; but no authority for such an addition as crom appears before the time of George Owen, temp. Elizabeth. Dr. Petrie and Dr. Todd likewise consider that the term crom, in the sense here given, is never used in Ireland, or probably in Wales, either before the time of the great Cemaes antiquary, George Owen, or of Rowlands in his Mona Antiqua. The ancient name such stones went by was simply Llech, although the more modern prefix crom was not a bad addition to designate the bend of such monuments to various points of the compass, except the south, which most of these sephulchral Llechau exhibit. The term Dolmen, in Britanny, signifying the Warrior's Grave, or Stone of Lamentation, and Dolman, in Welsh, for the same meaning, are derived from a common root in many languages, as the Latin of dolor, the French douleur, the English to dole and dolorous, and the Welsh dolur, dolurus, &c.

and this curious fact is now confirmed by several that have been thus discovered with the carn-covering complete, both in Anglesey, many other parts of Wales, and in Cornwall and Ireland. It is my firm opinion that most, if not all the low cromlechau, or, as they are, I think, improperly termed, Druid's altars (never having been stones of sacrifice), were of this description, but have assumed the present appearance by the encasing heaps of stone having, since the extension of agriculture, been removed for other purposes, or the contents of the graves rifled by seekers after supposed treasure. is another circumstance that leads me to assign to the llech or cromlech a sepulchral character: the Druids never permitted any inscription upon their graves, or other stones of remembrance, and we do not find a single instance of such in any of our antiquarian researches; records of these events were at that primitive period handed down to posterity by short oral sentences easily remembered, of which we have only the remnants in the incomplete portion of the Triads now preserved. accounts for the few inscriptions met with being all in Latin of a mediæval period; but there is not, I believe, a single instance where they are in Celtic. It is not easy to suppose, therefore, that the bulk of the population that then spoke, and continued the Welsh as their mothertongue to this day, would not have been desirous, in some instances at least, of showing a respect to their ancestors by a native inscription, rather than in that of their conquerors! but then the injunction of their not forgotten law-givers the Druids forbade it, and they could not disobey. It may also be remarked that in the great megalithic structure of Abury, all the few immense stones that now remain of that very ancient temple, or place of convocation, are in a natural state, without a sign of the workman's tool having been used; this is not the case at Stonehenge, which is evidently of a later date, the upright stones composing it having been chiselled, as well as the cap-stones, in which there are grooved hollows to receive the supporters; but no sort of inscription upon any part of the great circle, or its interior, has ever been discovered. I may add that the cromlech of Druid interment must not be confounded with the same name given to stones of similar appearance raised high from the ground, and apparently a part of very ancient circles of stone, like the one at Pentre Evan (Pentreyfaen), near Newport, in Pembrokeshire. These were all erected either for sacred or judicial purposes, or as places appropriated

to national assemblies upon great emergencies.

In the graves of the succeeding class of the warriors and chieftains, some of which may date in point of antiquity with the first mode of the sacerdotal interment, we find stone relics of various descriptions in those where cremation had not formed an accompaniment; and here the bodies were interred whole in the bedd petrual, or cist of the carnedd; occasionally with the flint celts, arrow-heads, and stone hammers, a chance bronze dagger or spear-head may be found, but these are in all probability of Phænician importation, ill assorting with the other relics of stone. These interments were very simple, but although of the stone age, the shape of the flint celts and arrow-heads in some instances is very elegant and highly finished, and exhibits a great amount of patient labour and ingenious design, for the rude and early period at which these graves were constructed. We can now well mark the gradations of this class of sepulture down to the time when the use of fire in consuming the bodies became general, and with it the accompanying deposits of various bronze articles took place, with the absence of those of stone, except in solitary instances, and when urns for the reception of the bones burnt were occasionally introduced.

Some of the warriors and chieftains of the latter section of this class are mentioned in the Beddau'r Milwyr, a portion of the Triads handed down to us, and by which we can arrive at a tolerable guess as to the identity of the chieftains interred, either by their names, or of those

of the places at which they lie buried.

The third order of burial in urns was at one time very general all over Britain, and appears to have taken the place of the simple cistfaen of the carnedd. The urns were commonly deposited in tumuli of earth, although instances occur of carneddau containing them; but these I consider to be graves of a much earlier period. Fire was here also extensively used in consuming the bodies, and some of the ruder urns appear to have been formed and baked upon the spot, whilst those of a better description, probably formed in a lathe, were brought to the burial-ground, and after having been filled with the ashes of the dead, together with the ornaments worn by the chieftain of amber and other beads, as well as his weapons of war, the urns were almost invariably reversed in the cist with the mouths downward, to preserve the contents from the action of moisture.

The dry chalky Downs of Wiltshire present extensive groups of such barrows, most of which have been judiciously opened and examined by the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who collected the whole of the urns found, with the contents, in a museum at Heytesbury, where they present to the future antiquary a valuable help in classifying such discoveries; and I cannot but recommend this course being adopted in each county of the Principality, where all such relics remain at present in a confused and isolated state, which, if suffered to continue, the destroying hand of time, or change of circumstances in those who discovered them, may consign these curious articles to decay, or to oblivion.

I am convinced that I now broach a sad truth; for I recollect that at our Tenby Meeting there were some things of great antiquity exhibited in the Temporary Museum which I recognized as having been found in Pembrokeshire by my late father, of the history of which every one was ignorant, owing to such having been purchased from, or passed through the hands of, uninterested persons. Groups of earthen barrows, similar to those last noticed, appear to be rare in Wales. I know of only two in Pembrokeshire, that of Crugiau Cemaes, near Cardigan, and another group near Orielton, called *Dry Burrows*. Several of these last I opened in the autumn of 1811, when upon a visit in that quarter, and found one or two urns of well formed pottery, but without any indication

of glazing or coating of any description, but having under the outer rims those peculiar ornamental marks, or notched lines, common to most if not all British urns. The urn of Bronwen, the daughter of Llyr (or Lear as he is Anglicised by Shakspeare) bears this mark, and it was handed to the British Museum by the late Dr. Owen Pughe, with a brief account of its discovery upon the banks of the Alaw, a river in Anglesey; which fact is recorded in the ancient tales of the Mabinogi. Bronwen was married to an Irish Prince, to whom Anglesey was ceded in right of this alliance; but he deserted her, and she is said to have died of a broken heart!

There are, perhaps, some worthy and learned members of our Association who consider Llyr and others of the kingly line of Welsh or Celtic rulers as mere myths. In this opinion I differ, else we must set aside most of our written, as well as traditional history; and this idea, if generally entertained, would open the door to such cavillings that there is no knowing where the disputes would terminate.

A curious fact has turned up by what I have just mentioned, which proves beyond a doubt that Llyr, or Lear, was no myth; we always thought that he had only three daughters, Gonerill, Rhegan, and Cordelia; but here is a fourth in Bronwen, whose history is recorded, and existence proved. We learn also that Llyr married his daughter Rhegan to Rhonwen, Duke of Cornwall, and her residence, faint traces of which yet remain, I have discovered in Bodregan, a name that had been wrongly interpreted, and twisted by Borlase and others into Bodruidion, which has no meaning, for Druidion was never used as a word in Celtic, Derwyddon being the plural of Derwydd—a Druid.

Connected with Celtic urn burial there is one thing that has puzzled me, and given rise to the supposition, from inference, that inhabitants of diminutive stature existed among the Celtic tribes at a prehistoric period. In some of the low barrows on the Downs of Wiltshire and elsewhere, rarely, very diminutive urns are found, and the bronze weapons and stone celts which often

accompany them are invariably of the same description, quite unfit to have been used as weapons by an ordinary sized adult; two of such urns I once saw in the possession of a carpenter then living at the intersection of two



Urn found near Llandyssilio, Pembrokeshire,



Under Part of Urn found near Llandyssilio, Pembrokeshire.

mountain roads in Pembrokeshire, not far from Pant y Caws, i. e. the hollow of the causeway; this man found these little urns, and a small sword or dagger of mixed metal, in a low carnedd or stone heap among the furze, at a place upon the borders of Llandyssilio parish, called

Meinau'r Gwyr, where there stood formerly a circle of stones, and he was so determined in holding possession of these, to him valueless articles, that he refused all overtures for their purchase, nor would he permit me to make drawings of them. Some years then elapsed, and upon my next visit into that quarter I found one of the urns and the dagger were in the possession of the late Rev. E. Harris, of Bryndyssil, who had purchased them of the carpenter's widow. I then made drawings of the urn and dagger; but the second urn had been lost or destroyed, which I very much regretted, it being a representation of a miniature Stonehenge, and the only one of the kind that I ever heard of in Wales. Heytesbury Museum I recollect seeing one something similar, but rather larger. I have given a rough sketch from my memory of nearly its form and size, as also of



Urn found near Llandyssilio, Pembrokeshire.

the remaining urn. This little urn is of a very elegant shape, and curiously ornamented with lozenge-shaped apertures encircling the centre, and admitting light to the interior; this seems also unique in construction. These little urns were formed with great regularity, apparently in a lathe, and were well baked, but not glazed,—an addition that does not appear to have been known to the Britons and early Celts. Might not the pigmy race I have alluded to have been the origin of the old Welsh tales about the Tylwyth teg?

JOHN FENTON.

#### THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF WALES.

THE following paper, by one of our members, is reprinted from the Archæologia, by permission of the Society of Antiquaries, with considerable additions by the author:—

The historical drama of a country is imperfect and hardly intelligible unless it represent the scenes on which, and the political conditions under which, its action takes place. Its narrative should be accompanied by a contemporary view of the political geography,—of the territorial limits and divisions of the country, so far as they affect or are affected by the course of political events.

That part of our national history which concerns Wales in its relation to

England especially requires such illustration.

The political geography of Wales belongs and is confined to the period of its separate political existence; which terminated, not, as is often assumed, with the union of the country to the English Crown, but with its subsequent union to the English Realm. The former union, however, marks an important era in that separate existence. By the latter Wales became politically merged in the united Realm of England and Wales. The name of the greater country alone has been and is frequently used, not only in popular but in official language, to denote the whole, and the Legislature has declared that in statutes it shall be so understood: 1 yet the name of the lesser survives.....a legitimate consequence of, and a perpetual testimony to, distinction of race and language, and an honourable record of independence preserved long after the Angio-Saxon states had been merged in the kingdom of England.

A relic of the separate political existence of Wales long survived in the

separate judicature which was retained throughout the greater part of it.

Thus the subject divides itself into three periods;—the first, during which Wales was gradually overspread by the rule of the English Kings and of their Barons,—the second, when, the English conquest being complete, a part of the country stood united in possession to the Crown, while the remainder still merely owned feudal subjection thereto,—the third, when union and feudal subjection to the English Crown had been merged in an union to the English Realm, but a separate Welch judicature still remained; -the first period being closed by the Statutes of Rhyddlan 12 Ed. I.,—the second by the Act 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26,—the third by the Act 11 Geo. IV. and 1 W. IV. c. 70.

The political boundary of Wales originally coincided with its physical or geological boundary as laid down by modern science, namely, the line of the rivers Severn and Dec. But this was soon over-stepped by the Anglo-Saxon invaders, who gradually forced the Welch further to the westward, and established a new boundary, at first indeterminate, but at length defined by Offa's Dyke. The frontier territory traversed by the Dyke was then and long after known as the Marches of Mercia (or England) and Wales.

The precise relation of the Dyke to the Marches, and the peculiar political and legal character of the latter, are derivable from the nature of the Anglo-Saxon Mark, or March; which is thus described by the most accurate

authority on the subject :-

"The word Mark as applied to territory has a twofold meaning; it is, properly speaking, employed to denote, not only the whole district occupied by one small community, but more especially those forests and wastes by which the arable is enclosed, and which separate the possessions of one tribe from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 20 Geo. II. c. 42, s. 3.

those of another. The Mark or boundary pasture land, and the cultivated space which it surrounds, and which is portioned out to the several members of the community, are inseparable; however different the nature of the property which can be had in them, they are in fact one whole; taken together they make up the whole territorial possession of the original cognatio, or tribe.

The ploughed lands and meadows are guarded by the Mark.

"The most general characteristic of the Mark in its restricted and proper sense is, that it should not be distributed in arable, but remain in heath, forest, fen, and pasture. In it the Markmen had commonable rights; but there could be no private estate. Even if under peculiar circumstances any Markman obtained a right to essart or clear a portion of the forest, the portion so

subjected to the immediate law of property ceased to be Mark."2

"It is certain that some solemn religious ceremonies at first accompanied and consecrated the limitation of the Mark. What these may have consisted in among the heathen Anglo-Saxons we cannot now discover; but, however its limit was originally drawn or driven, it was, as its name denotes, distin-

guished by marks or signs."

"No matter how small or how large the community, it may be only a village, even a single household, or a whole state, it will still have a Mark, a space or boundary by which its own rights of jurisdiction are limited, and the encroachments of others kept off. The more extensive the community which is interested in the Mark, the more solemn and sacred the formalities by which it is consecrated and defended. Nor is the general rule abrogated by changes in the original compass of the communities; as smaller districts coalesce and become, as it were, compressed into one body, the smaller and original Marks may become obliterated and converted merely into commons, but the public Mark will have been increased upon the new and extended frontier. Villages may cease to be separated, but the larger divisions which have grown up by their union will still have a boundary of their own; these again may be lost in the extending circuit of Wessex or of Mercia, till a yet greater obliteration of the Marks having been produced through increasing population, internal conquest, or the ravages of foreign invaders, the great kingdom of England at length arises, having wood and desolate moorland and mountain as its Mark against Scots, Cumbrians, and Britons, and the eternal sea itself as a bulwark against Frankish and Frisian pirates."4

From this view of the Mark may be derived a clear distinction between Mark and limit, as describing the territories of this island in early Anglo-Saxon times; both express the idea of boundary, but the former is boundary land, the latter a boundary line. The common boundary of adjoining communities, fully understood, is the common limit of their adjoining Marks.

The limits of the Marks of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms towards each other were doubtless early ascertained with sufficient accuracy, and recognised in their mutual public transactions. The kingdom of Mercia, emphatically the Mark country, chiefly formed out of the original Mark against the Britons, and always, and at length exclusively, bordering upon them, falls under peculiar considerations. Down to the reign of Offa its western limit seems to have been left undefined, and in fact was perpetually advancing as the Britons receded; while, on the other hand, the Britons were ever withdrawing their settlements to some distance within their line of defence, leaving the intervening space as a protection against their encroaching enemies. And thus the Mark of Mercia toward the Britons ever adjoined a district corresponding in its main features, namely, the Mark of the Britons toward Mercia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kemble's Saxons in England, i. p. 42.

In proportion as the social and political institutions of an infant state become more firmly established, arises the necessity of defining the territorial limits of its authority, and of enforcing their due recognition. Mercia had, under Offa, attained great power and prosperity, and it may well be supposed that this necessity had not escaped his attention. The state of the western border of his kingdom was such as to require a definition of this kind to be made without delay.

The Mark of the primitive settlement, in which no one had an exclusive property, and which remained unimproved, uncivilised, and imperfectly subject to public authority, is described as "unsafe, full of danger; death lurks in its shades, and awaits the incautious or hostile visitant." It presents the germ of those evils which attained their full development in the Marches of Mercia and Wales. The district being of great extent, and partly of inaccessible character, and little controlled by the governments which claimed authority over it, early became the receptacle of lawless and predatory bands, which perpetually disturbed, plundered, and oppressed their more settled and civilised neighbours, and almost with impunity. It further served to conceal the advance and cover the retreat of the more regular invasions, by which the Welch Princes constantly avenged the wrongs of their race, and endangered the power or checked the conquests of the Mercian Kings. It became, in short, a standing menace to the Mercian people and government, daily more intolerable, and calling more loudly for repression.

The primitive Mark was from time to time, as social or political causes arose, reduced by public authority, and, to the extent of such reduction, deprived of its character as Mark—that is, parcelled out among private owners; and, if the Marks of two communities adjoined, such a measure on the part of either was preceded by an agreement as to their common limit. The remedy applicable to the condition of the Marches of Mercia and Wales was analogous, namely, to reduce, and, so far, to unmarch them—to plant regular settlements, and extend efficient government in the waste and lawless district—to confer upon civilised bodies of Mercian subjects a personal as well as national interest in its preservation and improvement, and so to constitute them a firm and enduring bulwark on the frontier. The first step toward this policy was the establishment of a common limit of these Marches, and such a limit was Offa's Dyke.

The Mercians, as compared with other Anglo-Saxon nations, had but lately emerged from Paganism. Their "long opposition to the introduction of Christianity had been punished by the absence of the arts and knowledge attending civilisation, as well as of institutions conducive to that object. Mercia has left us neither the name of an author, nor even a meagre chronicle." Hence no records of the treaty under which, nor of the means by which, Offa's Dyke was constructed, now remain. Yet a work of such magnitude and permanence could not have been undertaken, much less effected, except in fulfilment of a formal treaty between the rival nations—a treaty facilitating its construction, not only by a truce in the meantime, but also by stipulations for united and perhaps additional and compulsory labour in the thinly-peopled districts through which the Dyke was to be traced.

The heathen Mercians consecrated the limitation of a Mark with solemn rites. That the Christian Mercians conferred upon this, their greatest and most important boundary line, the highest sanction of their newly-adopted religion, may be concluded from the legend preserved by the biographer of

b. p. 47.
 As to this Dyke see Archeologia, vol. XXIX. p. 13.
 Lappenberg, Anglo-Sax. Hist. i. 221.
 Matth. Par. Vit. Offee, II. 975.

It was not likely that a nation still powerful and independent would readily acquiesce in a diminution of territory, the consequence of a series of defeats, or would regard otherwise than with hostility a boundary line drawn against itself, partly, perhaps, by its own reluctant hands, or would view with indifference the advance and increase of hostile settlements. The legal and even religious character of the Dyke was scarcely sufficient to maintain it inviolate, and the new settlers would scarcely be strong enough at first to hold their own positions, much less to guard the national frontier also. The history, topography, and form of the Dyke all support the probability that, though chiefly and primarily a line of demarcation, it had also a defensive character as against the Welch. The nature of the defence is somewhat obscure. Whether the theory of a system of patrol or ward, maintained, in part at least, by a charge on the neighbouring lands, be established or no, it may be supposed that in time of war the parts of the Dyke covering the natural approaches to the country were occupied by bodies of troops, who were thus enabled to act with advantage against more numerous enemies.

The construction of the Dyke was immediately followed by the occupation of the Mercian March. "Offa drove the Welch beyond the Dee and Wye, and filled with Saxons the plain and more level regions lying between those rivers and the Severn." The accounts of the gradual occupation of the land on the eastern side of the Dyke and the river Wye by the English, shew that the same policy was continued by the rulers of Mercia, and of England.

The boundary line of Mercia and Wales, thus established with due solemnity by the authority of both nations, was constantly recognised as such during the Anglo-Saxon age, both in law<sup>3</sup> and in fact. Cenwulf, the immediate successor of Offa, vindicated it on the north by his famous victory at Rhyddlan.<sup>4</sup> Early in the ninth century Egbert, King of Wessex, added Mercia to his dominions, and adopted its western limit. "Punishments of the most frightful character are denounced against him who violates" the Mark of the primitive settlement.<sup>5</sup> "By Egbert the monarch was a law made, that it should be present death for the Welch to pass over Offa's Ditch, as John Bever, the monk of Westminster, reporteth." The southern portion of the Dyke accompanies, and sometimes appears to coincide with, the lower course of the Wye. 7 Æthelstan, in summoning the Welch Princes to Hereford as to a frontier town, and confining their subjects within the Wye, was merely confirming the great work of Offa.<sup>8</sup> The passage of the Wye by the Welch was ever regarded as an invasion.<sup>9</sup> In the eleventh century, "when the Britons had invaded and were devastating England, Duke Harald was sent by the most pious King Edward to expel them. With the edge of the sword he reduced the province to peace, and made a law, that any Briton soever, who thenceforth should be found with a weapon on this side of the boundary line which he had laid down for them, namely, Offa's Dyke, should have his right-hand cut off by the officers of the kingdom."1

Such was the recognised character of the Dyke at the time of the Norman Conquest of England. Neither then, nor ever during the period that Wales

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Arch. Camb. third series, iii. 204. <sup>1</sup> Langhorne's Chronicon, p. 292. <sup>2</sup> H. Lhuyd, Brit. Descr. pp. 41, 47. 3 Anc. I. and I. of Wales, i. 183. <sup>5</sup> Kemble's Sax. in Eng. i. 47. <sup>4</sup> Lappenberg, Anglo-Sax. Hist. i. 240. <sup>6</sup> Speed's Theatre of Gt. Britain, Radnorshire. (Bever's Hist. is not printed.) 7 "Inde vagos Vaga Cambrenses, hinc respicit Anglos." Necham, quoted by Camden (Monmouthshire).

8 Will. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Angl. (Eng. Hist. Soc. edit.) ii. § 134, p. 214.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Lapp. Anglo-Sax. Hist. ii. 252. <sup>1</sup> Joan. Sarisbur. Policraticou, (1639,) vi. 6, 345.

remained separate from England, was any other limit of the two countries laid down.

Subsequently to the Conquest the Marches of England and Wales, and, lastly, the remainder of Wales itself, fell under a peculiar system of occupation and government, which superseded this national boundary line, and almost effaced it from history. Offa's Dyke no longer obtained express mention, because no historical or political event turned on the common limit of the Marches, which came to be regarded as one district of uniform character, and to be called, by an obvious abridgment, the Marches of Wales. The practical distinction for legislative and administrative purposes was between the shires of Chester, Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, according to their ancient bounds, on the one hand, and the Marches on the other; yet the ancient character of the Dyke continued to be recognised in matters of local description.

The system of occupation and government referred to is that under which the Crown of England and its Barons acquired and ruled Wales and the Marches as a vast aggregate of independent lordships. An explanation of this system involves the political relation of Wales to the Crown and Realm

of England at successive periods.2

The Mercian, and subsequently English, policy of planting settlements in the March of the kingdom toward Wales received a new and aggressive development in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Harald, to whom the government of this March had been committed, semboldened by a series of successes against the Welch, formed the design of occupying their March also,

probably as a step to their ultimate conquest.

The entries in Domesday Book, relating to the territory on the west side of the Wye, lead to the conclusion that Saxons were permanently established there in this reign. Doubtless they became so in furtherance of the design, and under the protection, of Harald, who himself crossed the river, and commenced building a fortress at Porth Iscoed on the Severn. His own settlement was indeed soon after destroyed by the Welch, but those of his countrymen in the same district appear to have held their ground up to the Norman period. The hurried and important events of Harald's own short reign left him no leisure for the affairs of Wales; but his policy in this respect was adopted by the Norman Kings of England, and became a system of conquest, gradually overspreading, not only the March of Wales, but also its more settled and civilised districts.

When Edward L ascended the throne, a native principality of Wales was still surviving, though owning feudal subjection to the English Crown. The remainder of Wales and the Marches, as subjected to the English power, consisted of very numerous Lordships, of which some had been acquired by the Crown itself, and retained in its own possession (in proprietatis dominio), and the remainder, however acquired, were held of the Crown by feudal tenure (jure feudali subjecta), but were not in its possession. These latter were the Lordships Marchers (dominia Marchiarum), and the Barons who held them were called, in reference thereto, Lords Marchers (domini Marchiales).

Some Lordships Marchers originated in the submission of their Welch Lords, who anticipated the gradual but sure progress of the invasion, and saved their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The relation of Wales to the Crown of England is treated of by Lord Hale in his "Preparatory Notes touching the Rights of the Crown."—Hale's MSS. Addit. in Lincoln's Inn Library, No. 9, c. iii. pp. 27—45 (not printed).

S Kemble's Sax. in Eng. i. 48, note.

Arch. Camb. first series, iii. 332.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Coke, Entr. Quo Warranto 9, f. 549 b. 6 Ibid, 3, f. 534.

lands, by transferring their allegiance to the English Crown; 7 but the greater part were created by conquest.

The vassals of the Crown made conquests by licence of their feudal superior, granted on the usual condition of tenure. This licence was not tacit only, as has been supposed, but often express, as in the charters of King John to

Wennowen of Kevelioch, and to William de Braose.2

The title of the King to his Lordships in Wales and the Marches rested on the same grounds as his title to the Realm of England,—namely, conquest and submission. The titles of his Barons to their Lordships Marchers were similarly founded. The sole distinction between a Crown Lordship and a Lordship Marcher was the condition of feudal tenure to which the latter was subject, a condition perfectly consistent with the independent sovereignty of the tenant within his tenement, as is evident from the example of many states of continental Europe during the feudal period.3 All Lordships in Wales and the Marches held by, or in chief of, the Crown were, in respect of internal government, alike independent sovereignties. The King had within his Lordships all royal prerogatives of dominion, jurisdiction, and revenue, not as King of England, but as Lord by conquest or submission. His Barons had within their Lordships Marchers the same prerogatives in their own right as Lords Marchers without any royal grant.<sup>5</sup>

King Edward I himself finally overthrew the last native government in Wales in the eleventh year of his reign, after which no new Lordship Marcher was, or indeed could be, created. In the following year he issued the famous Statutes of Wales, otherwise called, from the place of their enactment, the

Statutes of Rhyddian.

The instrument containing and authorising these statutes is well described by the Lords' Committee on the Dignity of a Peer, in their Report, as approved by the great lawyer Lord Redeedale.<sup>7</sup> It is not, nor does it purport to be, a parliamentary act, but a charter of the King to all his subjects of the land of Snowdon, and of other his lands in Wales, emanating throughout from his sole authority, and having his own seal affixed. The absolute power of legislation which he assumed is that generally allowed to be inherent in a sovereign on foreign conquest, and was neither more nor less than belonged to every Lord Marcher, as well as to himself.

The King commences his charter by declaring that Divine Providence had brought the land of Wales, previously subject to him by feudal law, entirely into his possession, and annexed and united it to the Crown of his kingdom. This was strictly true of the newly-conquered principality, and in some sense of the more ancient acquisitions of the Crown, but was quite inapplicable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Government of Wales," in Hist. of Ludlow, by R. H. C., p. 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Arch. Camb. first series, iv. 141.

<sup>1</sup> Charter of the Welch.-John, by the Grace of God, &c., to our beloved and faithful Wennowen of Kevelioch, for his homage and service, all lands, &c., as well in North Wales as in South Wales and Powis, as well acquired as to be acquired over our enemies, &c., to hold of us and our heirs, &c. Dated at Poitiers, 4 Dec. 1 John (A.D. 1199).—Rot. Chart. 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Charter of William de Braces.—John, by the grace of God, &c., to William de Braose and his heirs, all lands, &c., which he hath acquired and which hereafter he shall be able to acquire over our enemies the Welch, to hold of us and our heirs, save Kardigan with its dependencies, which we retain. Dated at Caen, 3 June, 2 John (A.D. 1200).—Rot. Chart. 68 b.

Coke, 4 Inst. c. xlvii. p. 240, note.
 Yr. Bk. 19 H. VI. 12; Harg. L. T. 399; Coke, 4 Inst. c. xlii. p. 223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Coke, Entr. Quo Warr. 9, f. 549 b. 6 Govt. of Wales, p. 107. <sup>7</sup> First Report (1890), div. viii. vol. i. p. 191.

to the Lordships Marchers, which still remained in the possession of their Lords, and were not, and could not be, affected in this respect by a royal charter. If any further argument that this document is not a parliamentary act were wanting, it might be found in this unqualified claim to the possession of Wales, which the numerous Lords Marchers in Parliament would scarcely have admitted. This claim, however comprehensively worded, was effectual only to the extent of the territory in the King's own hands, as is further evident from the enacting part of the charter, which clearly affects that

territory only.

The King's Welch dominion comprised, in North Wales, Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Merioneth, which formed the Principality, and Flint, which was attached to the Palatinate of Chester; and, in South Wales, Caermarthen, Llanpader, and Cardigan. This dominion, although united in possession to the English Crown, was not the less a separate realm or sovereignty. It was granted to Edward of Caernarvon, Prince of Wales, by charter (7th Feb. 29 Ed. I. 1301).8 Additional territories, acquired in the interim, were included in the next charter, that to Edward the Black Prince (12th May, 17 Ed. III. 1343). During two centuries similar grants were made to the heir apparent of the Crown for the time being, with the singular limitation "to him and his heirs, Kings of England;" thus continually and finally revesting this dominion in the Crown but never thereby merging or destroying its separate existence. Arthur, son of Henry VII. was the last Prince who received the grant, and exercised jurisdiction in his own name. After his death (2nd April, 1502) his brother Henry was raised to the title, but received no similar charter. Probably the King and his advisers were already considering the irregular and inconvenient relation of Wales to England, and contemplating such legislative changes as were effected in the succeeding reign.

So long as Wales remained separate from the Realm of England, this Royal dominion within it had a political unity, as distinguished from the Lordships which occupied the remainder of the country and the Marches, —a distinction to be borne in mind in reference to many ancient documents

and reports of legal decisions, which are otherwise unintelligible.

The division of Wales into shires can scarcely be said to have begun before the Statutes of Rhyddlan. Pembroke and Glamorgan may have been called counties at an earlier date; but the words are not strictly synonymous. The primary meaning of shire is, a division of a realm; of county, the district held or governed by a count or earl. Every shire implies a realm, and was usually committed or left by the supreme ruler to the government of an earl. On the other hand, every county joined to a realm became a shire, or part of a shire. But many counties were not within any realm. Long after the formation of the ancient shires of Wales, the term "county" continued to be applied to Lordships Marchers which never even gave their names to shires, although, of course, comprised in the final shire-distribution.

The historian tracing the origin of the ancient shires of Wales is guided by the analogy of England. The Anglo-Saxon shires were of two classes. Those of the first class were originally distinct royalties, formed by the Anglo-Saxons out of lands acquired from the Britons. Those of the second class arose from the dismemberment of the larger kingdoms, and seem to have been formed by placing one or more wapentakes or hundreds under the government of an ealdorman or earl. In some instances smaller shires have been annexed to a larger district. Formed thus, at various periods and upon different systems, it seems to follow that the shires were not necessarily administered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Courthope's Historic Peerage. <sup>1</sup> Govt. of Wales, p. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Dodridge's Hist. of Wales.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Palgrave's Ang.-Sax. Period, i. 116.

according to a uniform scheme. Often the same ealdorman or earl presided over several shires, and also held great offices of state or commands: and hence the shire-government was early exercised by deputies.

In Wales the same causes produced the same effects. Welch shires of the first class may be represented by Pembroke and Glamorgan, originally great Lordships Marchers or counties, forming no part of the royal dominion consolidated by Edward L, but gradually acquiring the government, and with it the name, of shires; and at length declared and confirmed as such by the supreme authority. Those of the second class derived their origin from the Statutes of Rhyddlan.

These Statutes name six districts, viz.: 1, Anglescy; 2, Caernarvon; 3, Merioneth; 4, Flint; 5, Caermarthen; 6, Llanpader and Cardigan; but do not purport to erect them into shires, nor even clearly refer to them as such.<sup>3</sup> The ancient national division into commotes seems to have been adopted as the basis of the new jurisdiction. As the Anglo-Saxon caldorman or earl often presided over several shires, so the vice-comes under the Statutes governed several commotes independent of each other. But every commote had its own coroner elected by itself, its own bailiff, and its own courts, with important powers and liberties. The Statutes, however, were doubtless intended to pave the way for shire-government on the English system. Each vicecomital district, or aggregate of commotes, soon acquired a unity in itself, and, by analogy, the name of county or shire. Caermarthen was called comitatus as early as 18 Ed. I., Cardigan in 20 Ed. I., and Anglesey in 14 Ed. II.4 The commotes fell into a position corresponding to wapentakes or hundreds in England. Subsequently, these shires were more regularly divided into hundreds. It does not appear at what period or by what authority the three shires of North Wales (so called)—Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Merioneth—were so divided. The junction of the lordship of Mouthway (Mowddwy) to the latter shire as a commote by the Act of Union implies that, there at least, the ancient Welch districts had not yet been superseded. A later Act, uniting certain lordships and parishes to Flintshire, constitutes some into a new hundred, and annexes the remainder to one already existing; whence it may be concluded that the close connection of this shire with Chester had led to its early adoption of this English mode of division. The four ancient shires of South Wales remained undivided down to the passing of the Act of Union.7

In early times the authority of the English Parliament in Wales, so far as it extended there at all, was uniform, but incomplete,—such, namely, as was usually claimed by, and conceded to, a paramount state over vassal states. It regulated the relations of Welch Lordships to England and to each other, and extended protection in person and property to English subjects in Wales; but it did not touch internal administration. The union of the Royal dominion in Wales to the English Crown broke this uniformity; for it extended to that dominion the complete authority of the English Parliament. Thenceforth laws for Wales were made, not by Royal Charter, but in Parlia-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The copy of these Statutes printed in the Record of Casmarvon (1828), and thence adopted in the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales (1841), differs in some respects from that in the Statutes of the Realm (1812). There is some confusion between the abbreviations of comitatus and commotus, which words also appear to bear each a two-fold meaning, viz. the county or county court, and the commote or commote court.

Ryl. Plac. Parl. pp. 44, 74, 418. Rot. Parl. pp. 37, 70, 379.
 77 Hen. VIII. c. 26, a. 16.
 78 Hen. VIII. c. 13, as. 3, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26, s. 20.

ment,8 to which representatives from Wales were soon summoned.9 But grievances in the Marches were for the most part beyond the scope of Parliament; and the proper legislature for their relief was the King and his

Council and the Lords Marchers.1

"Wales," in the language of the English Parliament, often signifies no more than the Welch dominion united to the Crown. When, and how far, it is to be taken in this narrower sense, may depend on the Act in which it occurs. If such an Act purport to touch internal government, "Wales" must, so far at least, be restricted to the Royal dominion. For example, the "Act for the making of Justices of the Peace in Wales" touches internal government, and moreover thus describes its own scope; ... "the King's counties of Flint in Wales adjoining to the county of Chester and also his counties of Anglesey Caernarvon and Merioneth within his principality of North Wales and also his counties of Cardigan Caermarthen Pembroke and Glamorgan in South Wales." But the "Act for Abuses in the Forests of Wales" neither in substance nor in word suggests such a restriction,3 and therefore may be taken to extend to the Marches. In short, "Wales" came to signify the shire-ground as distinguished from the Marches; and thus the name which in an earlier age denoted the native principality—the last refuge of the national institutions—in later times marked the districts of which the government and laws were more closely assimilated to those of the kingdom of England.

Process of time, rebellions and civil wars, and consequent escheats and forfeitures, gradually increased the authority of the Crown in the Marches, and brought most of the Lordships Marchers into its possession; but such possession did not of itself unite them to the Crown. The King held them ut dominus Marchialis, not as King of England. The substitution of shire... for March-government appears to have been the condition upon which union

to the Crown was held to be effected.

King Edward IV., about the seventeenth year of his reign, sent his son Edward Prince of Wales, with a guardian and council, to Ludlow Castle, to assume and exercise there the government of Wales and the Marches. Hence arose the authority of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches, who soon became a recognised and permanent body. They sat by the Royal Commission, and proceeded in judicial matters as a Court of Their jurisdiction was extensive, and its limits not very clearly defined; and hence they became a powerful instrument in the hands of the

Crown, which long successfully resisted their abolition.

The accession of the Tudor dynasty to the English throne was not only flattering to the pride and conciliatory to the spirit, but also conducive to the social and political advancement, of the Welch nation. Soon after that period, the legislation of the English Parliament for Wales, formerly restrictive and severe as for a conquered country, sought rather to reform the people and to assimilate the laws to those of England. Whenever it was possible, the statutes of the Realm of England were framed so as specially to include Formerly, measures of restraint were chiefly directed against the Welchmen of the Marches by way of protection to the adjoining English counties; now they were also applied to protect the same Welchmen against

Rot. Parl. 35 Ed. I.; Report on the Dignity of a Peer, vol. I., p. 253.
 Rot. Parl. 15 Ed. II., App. 456; Foed. N. E. t. ii. p. 649, 20 Ed. II.; Report, c., vol. I. pp. 282, 288.
 Rot. Parl. R. II., p. 45; Report, &c., vol. I. p. 338. &c., vol. I. pp. 282, 288.
2 27 Hen. VIII. c. 5. <sup>3</sup> Ib. c. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Coke Entr. Qao Warr. Art. 3, f. 534. <sup>5</sup> Coke, 4 Inst. c. xlviii. <sup>4</sup> 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6; 23 Hen. VIII. c. 5; 27 Hen. VIII. cc. 14, 24.

The "Act for rethe oppression of the Lords Marchers and their officers. continuing certain Liberties and Franchises heretofore taken from the Crown,"8 so far as it affected Wales and the Marches, was preparatory and

auxiliary to the Welch Act of Union, passed in the same session.

The "Act for Laws and Justice to be administered in Wales in like form as it is in this Realm," concerns not only Wales in its widest sense, but the March of England toward Wales also. Four distinct measures were deemed requisite for effecting its object, namely: 1, the union of Wales to the Realm of England; 2, the reduction of the Marches to shire-ground; 3, the extension of English laws to Wales; and 4, the extension of the English judicature to Wales. Of these, the two former were fully, the two latter only partially, carried out at this time.

As to the first, the Act, in uniting Wales to, did not confound it with, The common boundary lines of realms are not obliterated by political union; they are merely removed into the province of historical and antiquarian science. Their political existence, indeed, terminates; but, for that very reason, no occasion for their subsequent alteration can ever arise, and they remain historically unchangeable. That the union of countries concludes, in point of time, the question of their common limit, is little more than a truism, and applies as well to Wales as to the Anglo-Saxon states; for this comprehension of the former in the united Realm of England and Wales is strictly analogous to the earlier comprehension of the latter in the Realm of England. The extent of Wales, equally with that of Wessex or of Mercia, can only be discussed in reference to the period of its separate existence.

The second measure of the Act reduced the Marches to shire-ground; in other words, completed the shire-distribution of the united Realm of England and Wales. With some trifling exceptions, the Lordships in the March of England were joined to English shires, and of those in the March of Wales some were joined to ancient Welch shires, and the remainder alloted into five new shires, viz., Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, Denbigh. Thenceforth accordingly the shires of Wales were reckoned thirteen in number. The territory comprised in them is nearly identical with the country according to its ancient limit; which, however, being anterior to, should be considered irrespective of, its shire-distribution.

Thus Wales and the Marches became historical expressions. The laws founded on the political position of the former as external to England, and of the latter as external to the shires, became practically obsolete. This consequence of the Act, in reference to the local administration of criminal justice implied in shire-government, drew an earnest remonstrance from the then Lord President of Wales, who regarded the Welch as yet unfit to enjoy this privilege.2

The Legislature aimed at carrying out the third measure by a general extension of English laws to Wales, excepting, however, the rights of the Lords Marchers so far as they were compatible with the King's dominion and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 26 Hen. VIII. cc. 4, 5, 6, 12; 27 Hen. VIII. cc. 5, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> H. Lhuyd, Brit. Descr. Fragment. (1568); "Breviary of Britain" (being a translation of the above) (pr. 1573); Price's Descr. of Wales, augm. by H. L., pr. in Wynne's Hist. of Wales (1774); Camden's Britannia (1586); Churchyard's Worthiness of Wales (1587); Dodridge's Hist. of Wales (1603, pr. 1630); H. of Commons' Journals, ii. 57 (1640).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> State Papers, Hen. VIII. i. p. 454, part ii. let. xliii. Roland Lee to Cromwell, 12 March, 1536.

jurisdiction, together with certain local customs. But it was in the nature of the case that the full application of this general rule would long be delayed by national attachment to ancient laws, and by the power of vested and expectant interests; and that it was in fact so delayed is evident from many later enactments. The exceptions in favour of the Lords Marchers are probably due, not only to their great territorial influence, but also to the presence of many of them in the Parliament itself.

As to the fourth measure, the Act did not touch the President and Council of Wales and the Marches, nor the Court of Equity before them. It superseded the civil and criminal courts of the Lordships Marchers, which fell under the jurisdiction of the shires wherein they were severally comprised. Further, it extended the English judicature to the new Welch shire of Monmouth; but, considering that the four other new shires were far distant from London, and the inhabitants thereof were not of substance, power, and ability to travel out of their own countries to seek the administration of justice, it established local judicatures there; and, for similar reasons, retained those already existing in the eight ancient shires. Hence this measure was of necessity left incomplete, until, in the course of time, and from the progress

of society, these reasons should cease to be applicable.

The continuance of these local judicatures subsequently to the union of England and Wales, is the root of the modern dispute as to the common limit of the two countries. As early as the time of Speed,3 it seems to have been assumed by some, that the provinces of the English and Welch judicatures constituted respectively England and Wales. But neither reason nor authority supports this assumption. The history and antiquities, the language and literature, the established rights and laws of a country, constitute and characterize its nationality, and remain unaffected by a measure merely concerning the administration of justice. The Acts of Parliament concerning Wales passed in the years immediately following, and the Itinerary of Leland, who visited it at this very period, are evidence that these provisions of the Act of Union were not so interpreted by contemporary authority. To blot out the national name of a country solely on the ground that it no longer retains a separate judicature, is an unreasonable and useless change; and, with reference to a part only of a country, such a change is not merely useless, but directly and widely injurious, as breaking the national unity, and so introducing confusion into the general history of the whole.

Eight years after the passing of the Act of Union, these local judicatures of Wales, being found inefficient and inconvenient, gave place to a new and uniform system, created by the "Act for certain ordinances in the King's

Majesty's Dominion and Principality of Wales."5

The first section of this Act, that "Wales be from henceforth divided into twelve shires," is often adduced in support of the vulgar error respecting the extent of that country. These words, however, do not purport to declare the legal limits of Wales as then understood, but to create a new Wales, by naming the shires of which it shall henceforth be constituted. This new limitation can only bear a qualified sense; not historical, for an Act of Parliament cannot alter history; nor political, for a political division between two countries already become and still remaining politically one is a contradiction in terms, and can only be compared to a reconstitution by arbitrary limits of the Heptarchy, without touching the integrity of England. Further,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Speed's Theatre of Great Britain, 1611.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 28 Hen. VIII. cc. 3, 6; 31 Hen. VIII. cc. 7, 11; 32 Hen. VIII. cc. 4, 13, 27, 37; 33 Hen. VIII. c. 17; 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26. 5 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26.

that it was not only of a qualified, but also of a temporary character—a limitation for a special purpose only, which has now passed away, carrying with it the limitation—is evident from the remainder of the Act itself, subse-

quent legislation, and the best authorities.

The Act comprises a variety of matters independent of its chief object. It contains 66 sections. The first is quoted above; the second confirms the limitations of hundreds, lately made within some of the ancient and all of the new shires, by Royal Commission under the Act of Union. The third continues the President and Council of Wales and the Marches of the same. The sections from 4 to 32 inclusive establish the new judicature. Of the remaining enactments some are rendered necessary by the existence of two separate judicial systems within the same realm; some assimilate certain laws of Wales to those of England; some are local, or personal, or commercial, arrangements; some relate to parliamentary representation; and some reserve certain rights and liberties. Finally, there was a clause giving to the King unlimited power of alteration, revocation, and re-enactment, which was

repealed in the reign of James I.

The limitation of Wales to twelve shires by sec. 1, does not apply to sec. 2, which is merely supplementary to a former Act. Neither does it apply to sec. 3, continuing the President and Council of Wales and the Marches thereof, and the Court of Equity before them. The Act does not purport to alter or limit, but to strengthen and warrant, this Court, which still exercised authority over the same territory, although the Marches had become shire-ground. Sec. 1 in effect creates a judicial Wales as the province or scope of the new judicature established by sections 4 to 32, and therefore belongs to that set of enactments only. It lays down an arbitrary limit, which, so far as it serves its purpose, is reasonable and proper, but in all other respects is unreal and useless, and leads to confusion. The use of the term "Wales" in this limited sense in other parts of the Act, and in subsequent Acts not concerning the Welch judicature, involves no inconsistency. Such Acts must, from their very nature, extend to Wales in its full and real sense, but cannot therefore disregard the special sense affixed to the word by Parliament. Hence, to avoid ambiguity, they usually specify, in addition, those parts of it not included in the twelve shires; thus bearing witness, in substantial legislation, to the unity of the country, which, in nominal description, they are compelled to divide.

That such and such only was the meaning of this new limitation of Wales, is further evident from the remarkable proceedings taken during the following century concerning the Royal Commission of the Lord President of Wales

and the Marches.

Although the ancient Marches were politically abolished by the Act which made them shire-ground, this Commission continued to be worded as before. "Wales," however, in that instrument, began thenceforward to signify the thirteen Welch shires; but the meaning to be attached to "Marches" was not so clear, and became the subject of an important controversy. It seemed applicable to the remainder of the ancient Marches which had been joined to English shires. But English shires were subject, in their entirety, to the English Court of Equity, and hence arose a conflict of jurisdiction.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the Crown, with a view to terminate this conflict, and not unwilling to extend at the same time the powers of its own officer, took occasion to insert the names of the shires of Salop, Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester in the Lord President's Commission. In the 2

<sup>6 27</sup> Hen. VIII. c. 26. s. 20.
8 Coke, 4 Inst. c. xlviii. p. 242.

 <sup>7 27</sup> Hen. VIII. c. 26. s. 20.
 9 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26.

Jas. I. this Commission, so far as it comprised these four shires, was disputed as an illegal encroachment of the Crown, on the ground that a Commission unauthorised by Parliament cannot raise a Court of Equity. The question was as to the meaning of the word "Marches" in the Act 1 continuing the Lord President and his Court; the Crown alleging that it meant these four border shires. All the judges were specially assembled to consider this question. Sir Francis Bacon, then Solicitor-General, has fully set out the arguments used by the Crown, and the points which they were intended to establish or refute, in his tract on "The Jurisdiction of the Marches." The case against the Commission, the authorities cited in support of the case, and the decision of the judges, are recorded by one of the most eminent of those judges, Sir Edward Coke. The decision was unanimous against the Crown, and the King declared his intention of reforming the Commission accordingly. It was not, however, afterwards reformed at all points, as it ought to have been, and a Bill to exempt the four shires from the authority of the Lord President was brought into the House of Commons; but this, after some discussion, was withdrawn, in consideration of a further promise from the King. The evil remained without adequate remedy during this and the following reign, and led to the appointment, by the House of Commons, of a Committee, including the knights and burgesses of the thirteen counties of the Principality of Wales, and of the four shires the Marches of Wales, to consider the jurisdiction of the Court of the Council of the Marches. On the report of this Committee, a second Bill to exempt the four shires was brought in, and passed both Houses of Parliament, but never received the Royal Assent, and seems to have been dropped during the political troubles of those times. No legislation on the subject took place during the period of the Commonwealth, and the subsequent re-action in favour of royal power prevented it from being mooted during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; but no sooner was the Revolution accomplished, than an Act was passed for the total abolition of the Court itself.5

This Act was an important step towards unity of jurisdiction in matters of Equity throughout the Realm of England and Wales, but the local judi-

cature of the twelve shires survived in full force to our own day.

An arbitrary limitation of territory, laid down for a special purpose, is inseparably connected with that purpose. They stand and fall together. Cessante ratione, cessat et ipsa lex. Wales, as the province of a separate judicature, was such a limitation. A series of Acts from the reign of Henry VIII. assimilated the procedure there to the English form, and at length the "Act for the more effectual Administration of Justice in England and Wales" abolished the separate judicature, and completed the work commenced at the Union by extending the jurisdiction of the Law Courts at Westminster to the remaining twelve shires,—thus virtually terminating the existence of the judicial Wales.

The popular opinion, that Wales consists of twelve shires only, was true in a certain special sense up to the passing of this Act; since then it has not been and is not true in any sense whatever. It was founded on the words of the Act for certain Ordinances in Wales: it was supported and strengthened by the exceptional position of the twelve shires as a distinct judicial district, a circumstance constantly present to men's eyes, and affecting their immediate business and interests, during three centuries. Its wide prevalence is scarcely

<sup>7</sup> 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26, s. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26, s. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Bacon's Law Tracts.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Inst. c. xlviii. p. 242.

<sup>4</sup> H. of C. Journals, ii. 57, 23 Dec. 1640, 16 Car.

<sup>5</sup> 1 W. and M. c. 27.

<sup>6</sup> 11 Geo. IV. and 1 Will. IV. c. 70.

surprising to those who have observed how vague and indistinct, for the most part, is the knowledge of Anglo-Welch history and legislation. It is to be marked as erroneous; and not only on theoretical grounds; for it brings confusion into the history, law, archeology, and geography of the whole border district, and is universally adopted in modern books of the latter science.

The line in the map of the united Realm of England and Wales separating off the twelve shires should disappear, as signifying nothing; for the fifty-two shires of the Realm now enjoy not only a political and legal but also a judicial equality. On the other hand, the line of Offa's Dyke and the river Wye should be drawn as an historical limit independent of the shire-divisions. It corresponds, generally speaking, with the ancient distribution of the fifty-two shires into thirteen Welch and thirty-nine English; and that distribution should be adopted, if any be necessary.

H. Salusbury Milman, F.S.A.

# THE EARLY INSCRIBED AND SCULPTURED STONES OF WALES.

(Continued from p. 292, Vol. V.)

THE GREAT CROSS IN NEVERN CHURCH-YARD.

The little village of Nevern, in Pembrokeshire, possesses many points of interest both to the lover of nature and the antiquary. The charming situation of the village was admired by all who visited it during the recent meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, whilst the beautiful workmanship and large size of the carved and inscribed cross, standing near the south side of the church, attracted the especial attention of the members.

This cross is equalled only by two other crosses in Wales, namely, that at Carew, in Pembrokeshire, and the Maen Achwynfan, near Newmarket, in Flintshire,—all of the three exhibiting the same general form and features.

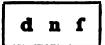
My first acquaintance with this cross is now of several years' date, and extends back to the incumbency of the Rev. J. Jones (*Tegid*), my visit to whom recalled scenes of former Oxford days, and who subsequently furnished me with the following admeasurements of the cross:—Height from the surface of the ground to the top of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Camden's Britannia, edit. 1789, vol. i. p. cxxxii.

shaft, 10 feet; from the top of the shaft to the cross, 10 inches; height of the cross, 241 inches; breadth of the shaft at the base, 27 inches; in the middle, 24 inches; at the top, 22 inches; width of the cross, 24½ inches. The shaft is formed of a squared block of stone, the base having a slightly widened portion, and the top narrowed obliquely on the west face; the north and south sides are not quite so wide as the east and west faces. Partial representations of this cross have hitherto been published,1 but its four sides are now for the first time given to the public, reduced by the camera from careful rubbings made with the assistance of Tegid himself. It will be seen that each of the two principal faces, east and west, has a narrow space above the two lower ornamented compartments inscribed with letters, easily decipherable, but not so easily intelligible. That on the east side has the letters



thus arranged; whilst that on the west is inscribed



I must admit my inability to explain the meaning of these letters, which are represented not in Roman capitals, nor in the minuscule form, but in that peculiar alphabet which is found in all the earliest Christian British inscriptions at Llantwit, &c., and which agree with the letters in the Gospels of St. Chad, MacRegol, Lindisfarne, and in the grandest Irish manuscripts, such as the Book of Kells. The inscriptions have also been given in Bishop Gibson's and Gough's editions of Camden's Britannia, without any attempt to explain them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gentleman's Magazine, vol. iii.; Journal of Archæological Association, vol. i. p. 145; Journal of Archæological Institute, vol. iii. p. 70.



Cross in Novern Church yard Pembrokeshire





The ornamentation of the four sides of this cross is of that kind to which the term Runic knots and circles has been perpetually misapplied. It is, however, not of Scandinavian but of Celtic origin, and is found in all the earliest Christian British and Irish monuments both of stone and metal, as well as in manuscripts. That it does occur, indeed, on some stone monuments with Runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man and elsewhere is true; but it nowhere occurs in Scandinavia, nor in Teutonic countries; and therefore, as indeed historic records prove, its occurrence with Runic inscriptions is due to Scandinavian visitors adopting the ornamentation with the religion of the country they resorted to. It will be seen from the engraving that the shaft of the cross consists on each side of a series of compartments, each containing a differently arranged interlaced ribbon, or other characteristic pattern, thus resembling the ornamented shafts of some of the gigantic initial letters in the early MSS. of the Gospels above alluded to, which may indeed be said almost truly to represent the shafts of these great crosses reduced to the size of a miniature, thus proving the identity of the workmanship, as well as of the workmen, by whom both classes of monuments were executed.

Taking the representations of the Nevern cross as they occur in the accompanying plate, it will be seen that, in addition to the endless variety of the interlaced ribbon patterns, (each ribbon having an incised line running along its centre,) the south side has at its base a raised. pattern of classical design, resembling the Grecian fret, of which a larger specimen occurs at the top of the west Above this fret on the south side is a curious diagonal pattern, formed of narrow raised and angulated lines, the general effect produced being that of a St. Andrew's cross with the spaces between the arms filled in with four pairs of incised Ts placed obliquely, with the tops of each pair placed in opposition to each other. This is also the character of the bottom compartment on the east side, but here only one-fourth of the pattern is represented, and consequently there is only one pair of Ts similarly

placed, with raised knobs in the open spaces. It will be seen that if the pattern on the south side were to be doubled or quadrupled, the oblique Ts would form a series of Xs, giving somewhat of the character of the curious pattern in the compartment on the east side, above the inscription. These diagonal patterns have very much of a Chinese character about them, as is also especially the case with the compartment above the inscription on the west side, and that at the bottom of the north side, where four Ts are so arranged as to form a series of steps in the spaces between the letters. The pattern at the bottom of the west side is another modification of these diagonal designs, and is of common occurrence on the Llantwit and other early decorated stones.

The head of the cross is of elegant proportions, the four arms of equal size, short, widened at the ends, with the spaces below the arms sunk, the depressed parts with a raised boss in the centre of each, as is also the case with the centre of the cross itself, which is ornamented with an interlaced ribbon pattern, as is also the narrow space at the base of the cross.

With reference to the date of the cross it is difficult, in the absence of direct evidence, to arrive at anything like a precise idea. I have stated that both in its palæographic and ornamental characters it agrees with the Llantwit stones, and MSS. of the seventh and eighth centuries, but its general form agrees rather with that of the later Irish crosses; and as in such outlying districts as Nevern it is likely that little change was made until the Norman period led to the introduction of Gothic art, it is not impossible that this cross may be as recent as the tenth, eleventh, or early part of the twelfth century. I do not think a more modern date can be assigned to it than the latter of these periods, but would rather refer it to the eleventh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A curious error of the sculptor in this pattern will be noticed, the upper fill-foll cross having the angulated end of its left upper arm reversed. The ingenious manner in which the adjoining ornament has been modified will be observed.

"The church of Nevern," as we learn from Fenton's Pembroke-shire, "is dedicated, as are most of the churches in this district, to St. Brynach, who flourished in the sixth century, and was a contemporary of St. David. He is reputed to have lived an eremitical life in the neighbourhood of a certain mountain of Cemaes, where legend says he was often visited by angels, who spiritually ministered to him, and that the place was thence denominated 'Mons Angelorum,' which could be no other than that which is now called Carn Engylion, or as it is corrupted, Carn Englyn, overhanging the principal church of all those consecrated to him, and which in compliment was founded near the palace of the regulus of the country, probably Meurig, one of Arthur's courtiers, who is said to have held his sanctity in such veneration, that he gave him all his lands free to endow his churches with."—p. 542.

Fenton adds the following notice of a legend respecting this cross:—

"George Owen has a whimsical reference to this stone when talking of the patron day of this parish, the 7th of April, on which day the cuckoo is said to begin his note, saying,—'I might well here omit an old report as yet fresh, of this odious bird, that, in the old world, the parish priest of this church would not begin mass until this bird, called the "citizen's ambassador," had first appeared and began her note on a stone called St. Byrnach's Stone, being curiously wrought with sundry sorts of knots standing upright in the churchyard of this parish, and one year staying very long and the priest and the people expecting her accustomed coming (for I account this bird of the feminine gender) came at last, lighting on the said stone, her accustomed perching-place, and being scarce able once to sound the note, presently fell dead. This vulgar tale, although it concern in some sort church matters, you may either believe or not, without peril of damnation."-p. 542.

#### OTHER STONES AT NEVERN.

In Gough's Camden (ii. p. 521) two other inscribed stones are also described and figured as existing in the church and church-yard of Nevern. One of these, inscribed—

3 "The chief resort of the hermit saint is supposed to have been at a place above Cefn Meibion Owen, in the mountain by the roadside, where there is a well compassed round with a curtiledge of stone wall five or six feet thick, called Buarth Brynach, Brynach's fold."

## VITALIANI EMERET-

(the A and L in the upper line being conjoined, and the N reversed, thus M, the remainder being in Roman capitals) is said to have stood in the church-yard, on the north side of the church, and to have been two yards

high, and of a triquetrous form.

The other stone is said to have been pitched on end in Nevern Church, and to have been two feet high, round at the top, with a series of letters round the top of a form unlike that of any of the other early inscriptions, and which might at first be mistaken for seven or eight Runic, or even bardic letters. Neither of these stones are now to be found at Nevern. I learned, however, that some years ago a cross (possibly one of the above) had been moved from Nevern to Cwm Gloyne, by Mr. Owen. If so, I trust this notice will lead to some identification thereof being afforded to archæologists, who have, in too many instances, to regret the removal of similar monuments from their old localities, without any record being preserved or affixed on the spot from which they have been removed.

Whilst engaged with Tegid in hunting for the two stones mentioned above, we found a fragment of a Roman inscription built into the south wall of the church, measuring 14 inches by 5 inches, and inscribed with the following Roman capitals:—

TH WI MI IM

The W in the second line has the two middle strokes crossed at top; the two Ms have the two middle strokes only reaching half the length of the side strokes, and the I in the third line is well tipped at top and bottom, as well as dilated in the middle. The letters are nearly three inches long. I can find no previous notice of this stone.

The interior of the church of Nevern contains another early relic of British Christianity, in a large slab now

used as part of the pavement on the north side of the chancel, inscribed with a Greek cross, with a central boss, and with equal short limbs dilated at the ends, inscribed within a circle, the two outer incised lines forming which are extended downwards below the bottom arm, so as to form a long stem or shaft to the cross. The diameter of this cross is 28 inches, and the width of the stem running down the middle of the slab is 10 inches. Numerous other instances of similar incised Greek crosses occur in Pembroke and Cardiganshire, of which instances will be given in future articles.

#### THE LLANIDYSSILIO STONES.

During the late meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Cardigan, attention was directed to three early inscribed stones, now built into the south outer wall of the church of Llanidyssilio, five miles north of Narberth, by two of our members, who had observed them a few days previously. Subsequently, I also paid these stones a visit, and took rubbings of them, which are copied in the accompanying woodcuts.

I am informed by the Rev. H. L. Jones that the stones are of the porphyritic greenstone, common on the Preseleu mountain; the one first described below has a rather smooth surface, the second is very rough, and the third

quite smooth.

The first of these stones is recorded by Lewis in his Topographical Dictionary of Wales, and is read by him LUTORICI FIL. PAULIN. MARINILATIO. The stone is of irregular form, 3 feet wide in the broadest part, and 3 feet 9 inches high. A portion of the upper face has scaled off, the scaling commencing with the first letter, which, however, a careful examination of the margin shows to have been a C, followed by the letters LUTORIG, followed by a very indistinct upright I. The rest of the inscription is plain, the whole being

CLUTORIGI FILI PAVLINI MARINILATIO the second and third letters of the name Paulini being conjoined, as well as the first and second letters of the third line. The whole of the letters are rather rude



Inscribed Stone, Llanidyssilio, Pembrokeshire.

Roman capitals, except the G, which is of the uncial form. They are about 4 inches in height. The meaning of the third line is doubtful. There is here no "hic jacit," so common on these monuments; and the words of the first and second lines are in the genitive case; and as probably MARINI was a second name of Paulinus, we might suppose the LATIO to be a nominative to the name of Clutorigus, whose burial was doubtless here recorded; but we have so repeatedly shown this formula in the genitive case, requiring the word corpus to be understood as the wanting nominative, that we might infer the same here also. The word LATIO has also no existence. Possibly it may be intended for LATEO, and to imply (notwithstanding the faulty Latinity and spelling) that the body of CLUTORIX was lying con-

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. D. H. Haigh insists that the names terminating in I on these Welsh stones are not in the genitive case.—Journ. Kilhenny Ass., September, 1858. He has surely overlooked the word "Fili," which settles the question.

cealed in the adjacent grave; or, as suggested to me by the Rev. Mr. Hingeston, the name may have been intended to be used in the first person,—I, CLUTORIX, lie here concealed (in the grave).

Leaving this difficult word, we must notice the name of the father of the person recorded, namely PAULINUS, a name famous in the early religious history of the neighbourhood.

There is, however, but little recorded of him in the Lives of the British Saints, although the name occurs on five or six of the Welsh stones. In the first Life of St. David, (Rees, Cambro-British Saints, p. 405,) Paulinus is said to have been a disciple to a bishop at Rome. In the Latin life, however, contained in the Cotton MS. Vespasian A XIV., from which the MS. Titus D XXII. seems to have been translated and amplified, Paulinus is described as a scribe, and as "discipulum Sancti Germani episcopi, qui in insula quadam gratam Deo vitam agebat." Possibly his foreign education and insular life may have suggested the additional name MARINI. foot note to Mr. Rees' translation adds that Paulinus, or Pawl Hen, appears to have been a North Briton, and one of the founders of the monastery of Ty Gwyn ar Dâf, or Whitland Abbey, Caermarthenshire. Paulinus became the master of St. David; and, subsequently, the former was afflicted with the loss of his sight, which, we are told, was restored by David, after the other scholars of Paulinus had failed. Subsequently (ibid. p. 411) we find Paulinus in his old age at the Synod of Llanddewi Brevi, speaking of St. David as a comely and virtuous young man, who was always accompanied by an angel, and who, he consequently recommended, should be called upon to assist at the synod. Some other notices of this saint will be found in Rees' Essay on the Welsh Saints, pp. 187, 188.

The second of these stones is much rougher than the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The grammatical errors in the Latinity of many of the Welsh stones has been repeatedly noticed in the course of my articles, and will admit the suggestion almost of any amount of error.

former; but the inscription itself, now for the first time published, offers no difficulty, being as follows:—

EUOLENVS FIL-LITOgENI HIC IACIT

There are a few palæographic peculiarities in this inscription; the second letter in the first line being a

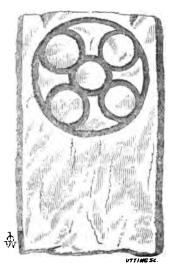


Inscribed Stone, Llanidyssilio, Pembrokeshire.

U not V, and the N reversed in shape M, the U indistinct and injured, and the terminal S greatly elongated below the other letters; the word also is here in the nominative case. In the second line the F and I are conjoined, and the final I placed transversely, as is often the case. In the third line the g is of the Hiberno-British form, and the N again reversed, whilst the H at the beginning of the last line has the transverse bar very oblique; and the A in jacit (for jacet) much elongated below the other letters. With these exceptions the inscription is in Roman capitals, the letters being generally about 4 inches in height, and the stone itself 3 feet wide by 28 inches high. From the more debased form of the letters, I infer that it

is somewhat more recent than the grave-stone of Clutorix.

The third of the Llanidyssilio stones is now built into the south wall of the church, close to the south-west angle. It is of an oblong form, measuring 40 inches by 16 inches, and is marked near one end with a circle,



Incised Stone, Llanidyssilio, Pembrokeshire.

inclosing five smaller equally-sized circles, one forming the centre, and the four others arranged so that the outer spaces form a Greek cross, with dilated ends. The whole is formed of very slightly incised single lines, or the surface of the stone has been so much reduced that the incised lines, forming the pattern, are now but faintly seen, except by the slanting rays of the sun. There are no straight incised lines forming the stem of the cross, as in the Nevern slab. It is most probable that this was originally a sepulchral stone.

J. O. WESTWOOD, M.A.

Oxford, December, 1859.

# Correspondence.

## CARDIGANSHIRE ANTIQUITIES.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—Referring to the evening discussion that ensued after the first excursion of our Archæological Meeting at Cardigan, and differing as I do from some of the suggestions there advanced to elucidate the detail of that day's proceedings, I beg to offer the substance of some notes I made during a pedestrian ramble in the year 1838, over nearly the same ground, if it may be considered worthy of insertion

in the pages of our Journal.

The predatory bands of Danes, and other sea-rovers, that, at a very early period, made descents upon the Welsh coasts to the westward along the Irish Channel, (I may say, with scarce an exception,) fixed their landing-places, and fortified their temporary defences near a stream of water of some kind. This is the case at Aberporth, Penbryn, and particularly at Llangranog. This rocky inlet is naturally a very strong position, and possesses a constant supply of fine fresh water from the little brook that occupies the gorge below Pigeonsford, (being a name probably corrupted from Pagan's-ford, in allusion to these early Danes,) and that here discharges itself into The island at the mouth of the creek at Llangranog is called Ynys Lochtyn, and the formidable post upon the lofty headland which adjoins it, is termed Pen Dinas Lochtyn, evidently a corruption of Lochlyn, or Llychlyn, i. e., the chief fort of the Dane; this position was also judiciously selected as affording the invaders, when successfully repelled by the native Celts, a ready means of retreat to their boats.

I shall now offer some remarks commencing at the flat ground to the northward of Cardigan, at a place called Y Verwig, i. e., the short cove, from ber, short, the feminine of byr, and gwyg, a cove. This place is the extremity of an extensive sandy tract, reaching up to the confines of Cardigan Common, (now inclosed,) where I arrive at the Warren Bank, two miles from that town. This mound appears to be artificial, and to have been added to the original sandy base, which is of considerable elevation, and the whole has very much the appearance of a tumulus, but has, I believe, never been properly explored. It lies upon the right side of the high road going from Cardigan to Following this road, at about half a mile further on, Aberystwyth. I pass by Capel-pen-Parc, a Dissenting Chapel, and on the left hand notice a barrow, called Crug Efa, Eve's heap, and another on the right, termed Twmpath tylwith têg, i. e., the mound of the fair family. A little beyond the third milestone you arrive at Penllech yr Ast, i. e., the chief slab, or llech, of the bitch. The large incumbent stone has been long since removed or destroyed; but there are

some of its supporters yet in existence; it is evidently sepulchral, but never having been properly examined, it would, without further investigation, be difficult to arrive at any right signification of the name, or the use for which it was erected. At the fourth milestone pass Tremain, probably a corruption of Tremaen, from its proximity to Llech yr Ast, and to a maenhir near the church. At the distance across a few fields on the north side of the road, there is a remarkable well, called Ffynnon Wen, which is famed for the cure of agues; and another near it named Ffynnon Pedr, i. e., Peter's Well. both emit an overflow of fine water, and with many others along this road, which I may hereafter name, are worthy of examination. dundant springs seem to abound in this neighbourhood, and there is one of the same name, Wen, and another, Ffynnon Fair, Mary's Well, a little to the north, between Blaenporth and Aberporth. At the fifth mile, arrive at Blasn-anerch, i. e., the commencement of greeting (anerch); probably here the native forces collected, met to oppose the invaders. Pass on to Blaenporth, the commencement of the favine leading down to Aberporth, where the stream discharges itself. Here you see from the high road the upper part of an ancient defence, which commands the extremity of the gorge on the land side, just below Blaenporth Church, and is termed the Gaer, evidently with that of an advanced post to the left of the road, the work of the repelling forces of the Celts, called Castell nambelia, i. e., from (nadawl) tending to obstruct, the obstructing fortress indicative of its use to repel the Danish invaders. Proceeding northward along this road, I observe at the seventh milestone on the left, below Llanddu, Wauntryfel, i. e., the triangular bog, from the shape of the space it incloses, and from whence the two diminutive streams called black Saeth rise, which form, when united, the brook Saeth, so termed from its short arrowy course which falls into the sea at Tracth sacth, a sand between its estuary and Penbryn. Half way from the seventh to the eighth mile, I arrive at another Gaer, a fortified post, on the south or right hand side of the road, bearing in a line with the brook Saeth and its estuary, to which, with Castell Pridd on the left, and Castell Nadarlig on the same side of the road. These several inland defences were raised to repel the enemy ascending along the gorges running up from the coast to the interior, as far as Llangranog, the chief Danish post.

The whole of this tract of land down to Cardigan is replete with interest to the antiquary and topographical inquirer. I consider the etymology of old Celtic names, carefully conducted, as affording, in the absence of reliable historical information, a fair clue to arrive at facts; and I regret to find that an opinion, widely disseminated, and too generally adopted, is, that our Welsh or Celtic origin was only successive to that of rude prior settlers in Britain. A potent argument against this presents itself in the very appropriate names of places in Celtic, which occur in the instances I have quoted, as well as in most parts of Wales. These were significant of a tribe possessing con-

siderable knowledge and discrimination, and which the uncultivated minds of savages, leading a venatic and desultory life over a wild and thinly-peopled country, never could have possessed. On the contrary, the first colony of Celts, one of the three peaceable tribes which first came to Britain and occupied the soil, as mentioned in the Triads, must have brought with them a portion of the intelligence of the neighbourhood of Troy, and the shores of the Euxine, from whence they no doubt originally migrated by sea. These significant names were therefore the natural result of a peaceful and steady occupation of the country, extending gradually to its assigned limits, and not the result by conquest of extended territory. The operations of rapine and plunder were left for subsequent times, to Norsemen, Irish Gaels, and Danes, the reckless invaders of the peaceable and populous coasts of the Cymry. These, in their several incursions, became the terror of the inhabitants, and left behind them, in their coast defences, unerring proofs of the nature of those hostile visits; besides, these northern robbers and sea kings never led their forces but to places where they knew they could get sufficient plunder to store their boats and provide for their future sustenance, which, as they passed most of their precarious lives on the sea was at times difficult, as well as hazardous, to acquire; and hence their sudden attacks were always inflicted upon a dense population and well-stocked country.

The regular succession and great number of these Celtic defences, occurring, as is the case, at almost every mile along this road, and commanding the heads of streams, or ravines, leading from sea-creeks to the hill country, at once designate their use to repel invasion, and the whole chain forms a good base line of opposing defence, parallel with the Mount, near Cardigan, up to Llangranog. At the thirteenth mile I arrive at an elevated position, called Y Dysgwylva, i. e., the place of expectation, or the look-out post. Here is a large circular mound, and two smaller ones in a line with it; these, if not tumuli, which may be doubtful, might have been used as fire beacons, to alarm the country upon the approach by sea of an enemy; and possessing an extensive view down the adjacent dingles of Dissilio, Cwm Tidy, and Llangranog, became the terminus to convey such intelligence along

the whole line of fortified posts.

I now diverge from the main road to the left, a little beyond the fourteenth mile, noticing at this point a very fine well, called Ffynnon Ddewi, i. e., David's Well, no doubt a sainted one. It occupies a considerable space, surrounded by large stones, on the right side of a hollow, where a small stream crosses the road, and into which the well is discharged, after jutting forth bubbles of fixed air with an immense volume of the finest water. I now observe in my way down to Llandissilio-gogo, from whence I return to Cardigan along the seacoast, a considerable fortification upon an elevation over the brook Ernis, called Castell Gaer Odris; probably the name of a chieftain, and, at the estuary below, another called Castell bach; I then cross to Crom Tidy, up which stream, upon an elevation on the north side,

there is likewise a Castell; and higher up still there is a defence termed Y Gaer, commanding the streams leading to Llangranog, and not far from the *Dysgwylva*. I then proceed to Llangranog, along a rocky ravine terminated at the creek by Ynys Llochlyn, and the adjoining rugged headland and high fortified post of Pen Dinas Lochlyn. This position overtops all the surrounding elevations, and is conspicuous at some distance along the coast.

I shall now briefly mention the names of places on my route back,

having already exceeded the space I had assigned for my notes.

Pen y garglwyd, near Pen Dinas Lochlyn, i. e., the principal

matling (garglwyd) defence.

Llech yr Ochain, i. e., the llech, or slab, of howling (ochain), or lamentation; it is upon the ridge above the brook that runs down to Penbryn. It was of considerable size and recumbent—probably now destroyed since 1836; there is a place near it, called Lletty 'r Burei, i. e., the hobgoblin's abode.

Carn Wen, a large heap, or carn, between Castell bach Penbryn, near Pen moel Ciliau, i. e., the retreat of the bald or bare head on

the sea-coast.

Castell Aber dauddwr, above the junction of two streams, opposite Castell Caer odris and Castell Myn Arthach; and near a place

called Lletty 'r Cymro, the Welshman's lodging.

Pen Cribach, i. e., head of the little crest (crib), between Aberporth and Cardigan island. A sandy inlet and small stream on the south side, termed Traeth y Gwyr wyddon, the sand, or landing-place, of the wild men; from gwyr, men, and wyddon, wild.

On the flat tract near Cardigan and Verwig, south-east from Mount,

Ffynnon Grog and Ffynnon Cyff, i. e., redundant, or stock well.

Llacca rwydd, on the east of Verwig, literally, loose mud; probably

a quicksand, and part of which was covered by the sea.

Ffoes herin, opposite it, i. e., from ffoes, a ditch, and her, a push, or motion of defiance; or myher, an attack, the ditch, or trench of attack, near it. Piliau, i. e., the place of plunder; to the south, at a little distance, Y Cnwc, a circular mound, originally defensive.

Tre gybi, south of Verwig, and nearer Cardigan, i. e., the place of

mourning; gwb, or gybiau, to mourn.

Heol y Gwyddel, the Irishman's lane; and Pen y Gôl, i. e., the

head of the surface or flat sand of Warren.

Old Castle, an ancient fortified post close to the river Tivy, opposite St. Dogmell's. This appears to be the last of the native defences to the south of the main line adverted to previously. It is, following the river down, about a mile from Cardigan.—I remain, &c.,

Bodmor, near Glynymêl, JOHN FRNTON.

29th Nov., 1859.

## WELSH GENTLEMEN SERVING IN FRANCE, temp. EDWARD IV.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—Most of our members are probably aware that there were many Welsh gentlemen in the service of France and Spain during the fourteenth century, as well as at other periods. Materials for their history exist in the Imperial Archives of Paris, and the Royal Archives of Spain. The former, I know, some members of our Association are now examining; and I hope we shall soon see the results of their researches in our Journal. I wish that some properly qualified person would undertake a similar task with regard to the latter. Meantime, it may be of use to lay before the Association a few brief notes of what is known to exist on this subject in France.

The muster rolls of Evain de Galles and John Wyn, with their receipts for pay and seals, are to be found in the Imperial Library, at Paris, MS. Department, Heraldic Section. They are under the care of M. Lacabane, who will produce the rolls. Some of the seals have been separated, and inserted in a book, lettered "Sceaux Vol 114. V-1 pages 8921 to 8927."

Evain de Galles's seal bore four lions rampant gardant, and was about the size of a shilling. The seal is attached to an acquittance given at St. André (Santander), in Spain, on the 8th of July, 1872.

There are eleven acquittances and seals of Jehan Wyn, who received money on his own account, as well as in behalf of Evain. Some of the receipts may be thus translated,—"Know all men that I Jehan Wyn known by the name of the Poursuivant damours Esquire & Attorney of Evain de Galles Esq having procurature from him to receive—confess to have had and received from Stephen Braque Esq Treasurer at War of the King (the sum) for the use of Evain de Galles's company of Men at Arms serving in Guyenne forming part of the Army on the frontier of Bourdeaux under the command of the Constable of France which sum was paid at Paris on the xxviij Dec. 1973."

There are nine others for money received by Jehan Wyn on his own right, with lists of the men-at-arms. They are on parchment, with one exception.

Jehan Wyn's seal bore the same coat as that of Evain de Galles, viz., 4 lions rampant gardant, but with a briser, or brazure, across the shield, like Bertrand du Guesclin, and the House of Condé, indicating that he was a younger branch of the house. (About the size of a shilling.)

The creat, a fox's head rising out of a helmet; supporters, a lion and a fox.

Robin ap Leden's mark to an acquittance in 1389 was thus,—a double interlacing triangle.

Yvain agruffin signs the receipt, and seals with a coat of arms obliterated.

Owen Glyndwr bore 4 lions rampant guardant, gu. et or, countercharged.

In Preston St. Mary Church (Dioc. Ely), Suffolk, there is an emblazonment of the arms of Queen Elizabeth, with various quarterings, with the private arms of the queen, passant, gardant, gu. and or,

countercharged. Supporters, the lion and red dragon.

Bertrand du Guesclin, Constable of France, with whom Evain de Galles and Jehan Wyn served, bore on a shield argent a spread eagle, sa. armed gu., with a briser, or brazure (au baston de mesure (gu.) brochant sur le tout); he was the tenth child of the Seign' of Brons, near Dinan, in Britanny; and his arms indicated that he was a cadet or younger son of that house.—I remain, &c.,

W. H.

#### WELSH CONFISCATIONS.—WILLIAM AND MARY.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—The Association is much indebted to you for transcribing and publishing, in No. XX., the grant of the estates of the Marquis of Powis to the Earl of Rochford, an atrocious confiscation by an usurper, in favour of a follower with no pretensions but those of bastard relationship. I consider this grant as one of peculiar value, and I have no doubt that my brother antiquaries in Montgomeryshire will be of the same opinion. I confess that I should like to see the history of the confiscation, and of its restoration to the rightful owner, made more complete. Indeed the history of the first Duke and Marquis of Powis ought to be written and published by our Association; and I have reason to know, Mr. Editor, that you yourself possess many means of good information on the subject, which no doubt the present noble and noble-minded possessor of the estates would willingly give you the means of rendering more full and authentic.

I do not know whether you are acquainted with Cerrig y Drudion, but there still exist almshouses there, (I wish the Charity Commissioners were aware of their condition,) founded by a brave and excellent gentleman, named Price. He was member of Parliament in the bad times of the Dutch king, and spoke boldly from his seat in the House of Commons against the granting of Welsh Lordships to Bentinck, created Earl of Portland. The Bentinck family have long since done enough for their new country to wipe off the taint of the circumstances of their intrusion; but still, I think, some account of Mr. Price, of his words in Parliament, and of their result, as well as of Williamite influence in Wales, would be very well suited to the pages of our Journal.—I am, &c.,

A WELSH JACOBITE.

Newtown, Dec. 1, 1859.

#### NEWPORT, PEMBROKESHIRE.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—The following brief notes may be of service to members, as introducing to them the antiquities of a town visited by them during the Cardigan Meeting, and as prefatory to more extended and detailed accounts.

Newport, called also in Welsh Trefdraeth, and in Latin, Novum Burgum, is situated at the mouth of the river Nevern, in the county of Pembroke, and is the principal town of the Barony of Kemes, this latter being a feudal tenure of a most peculiar character,—the last and only Lordship Marcher now in the kingdom.

The feudal Barony of Kemes is co-extensive with the modern hundred of that name, and embraces within its limits twenty-five parishes; is divided into several manors and lordships, and measures in circumference some sixty miles.

Kemes was erected into a Lordship Marcher by Martin de Tours, one of the principal companions in arms of William the Conqueror,

who obtained it by conquest from the Welsh.

Martin and his descendants, the Lords of Kemes, sat in Parliament for several generations as peers of the realm, by tenure, the same as the Lords Berkeley and Arundel, and also by writs of summons in

the reigns of Henry III., Edward I., II., and III.

These noblemen enjoyed several peculiar privileges as Lords Marchers, of which a few are still exercised by their descendant and representative, Thomas Davies Lloyd, Esq., of Bronwydd, the twentythird Lord of the Barony of Kemes, who still holds his baronial courts, and yearly exercises the unique privilege of appointing the Mayor of Newport.

They also enjoyed the privilege of giving the silver harp as a prize at the *Eisteddfodau*, or meetings of the bards, and in their absence,

the Abbots of St. Dogmael's presided.

Robert, eldest son of Martin de Tours, founded the abbey of St. Dogmael's, near Cardigan, which he endowed with lands; and his son William, as Lord Marcher, granted a charter of incorporation to the burgesses of Newport, which is still in force, and recognized by the Courts of Westminster.

Immediately behind the town of Newport rises the lofty and picturesque mountain of Carn Ingli, called also Mons Angelorum, in reference to a tradition that a saint, of the fourth century, Saint Brynach, who resided there, was favoured by a visitation of angels.

As an illustration how old customs are perpetuated through the lapse of centuries, it may be mentioned that in one of the parishes within this barony, that of White Church, the game of chess was extensively played by the labouring classes down to the last century, having learnt it, no doubt, from the Norman invaders of the country.

There still exist the remains of the ancient castle of Newport, consisting of a tower, quite entire, and some repairs and additions are

being made to render this hoary witness of antiquity habitable.

The castle was first erected by Martin de Tours, and partially rebuilt by William Martin, in the reign of Edward I.

Immediately under the castle stands the tower of the old church, the advowson of which is in the gift of the lord of the barony.

I am &c.,

A MEMBER.

## COIN OF FRANCIS OF BEARN.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

Sir,—In your Number of January, 1858, p. 110, a record was made of the above coin. I can now further add Mr. Hawkins's notice of it:—

"The coin is of Francis Phoebus, Lord of Bearn, 1479-1483. Ob.—Shield of arms, FRANCISCVS. F.D.G. DNS. BE. Rev.—FXE PAX ET HONOR. FORQVIE MOR(lacis): probably

the name of the Pagus of the town of Morlais."

I have this year from the same garden a small French copper weight, half an inch in diameter, one-eighth of an inch in thickness, one side apparently plain, the other having a shield with three fleur-de-lis surmounted by a crown, being a head of a fleur-de-lis in centre, and a semi fleur-de-lis on sides, on two arched lines. A similar crown is on Perkin Warbeck's groat, No. 1399, vol. ii. Old England (Knight's). It is evidently of the same date as the coin, and therefore the query is still unanswered as to the origin of their deposit.

I remain, &c., Wirewoods Green, co. Gloucester, Chepstow, Nov. 2, 1859.

# Archeological Botes and Oneries.

Note 46.—MACHYNLLETH—ORIGIN OF NAME.—I have observed a large stone, seven feet long, of a quality entirely unlike the shale of the district, popularly known as Y GARREG FAWR, lying on the road-side at the entrance to the "town," properly so called, and at the spot where market and fair tolls are collected by the lord of the manor. Coupling this with the existence of a Maengnyn, and a Maenllwyd, at the other end of the town, there seems ground to infer that the name of the town is derived from a MAEN at the head of the morass, or wet meadows, CYN LLATH. But there are not wanting instances of Mach being synonymous with Bach and Y Fach, a corner, nook, or recess; s. g., Cilmachalet, otherwise Cilfachalet, near Llanidloes.

N. 47.—Conway.—In the Archeologia, vol. xx., in the paper on the Deposition of Richard II., it is stated that Conway was burnt in the reign of Henry IV. In what year did this occur?

J.

N. 48.—ROMAN MONEY STRUCK IN LONDON.—It is generally allowed that PLON, not uncommonly found in the exergue of small brass of the Constantine period is to be interpreted Pecunia Londinensis. Some time since I possessed a small brass of the younger Constantine, which read not PLON but PLOND, the last letter being raised a little higher than the preceding ones. It was submitted to the late Mr. Harry Osborne Cureton for inspection, who examined it, and had no doubt of its being genuine, or of the reading. Unfortunately it was lost, or stolen, during its transmission from Mr. Cureton by post. It was of the ordinary type, and had for its reverse the usual garland, with vor . x . CARSARVM . NOSTRORVM. Would any of our members, who may have an opportunity of examining collections of small brass, turn their attention to this subject, with a view of ascertaining whether other instances occur of a similar reading, which does not appear to have attracted attention? It would certainly be interesting to find other examples of PLOND, which would confirm so strongly the interpretation of the ordinary PLON.

Query 93.—HAVERFORDWEST.—Some twenty years ago there stood, towards the upper end of High Street, and between that and Dark Street, nearly opposite Mr. Potter's shop, a large, rude, and somewhat dark-coloured stone, which schoolboys used to leap over. There was a rumour—it could hardly be called a tradition—that the stone marked the place of a martyr's death. During a mania for improvements which infected the municipal authorities, I believe it was, that this stone was removed. As far as I can see, it would not have interfered with any improvement that has been made since then, if the stone had continued in its ancient position. What became of it I know not. Perhaps some of your readers can give information. There is evidence of the fact that a martyr died in Haverfordwest. In the Register, by Thomas Bryce, to be found in vol. i. of Select Poetry, published by the Parker Society, under head of "Apryll 3 1558," we read.-

"When William Nicoll in Harfordwest Was tryed with their fiery fan."

The author of the Register probably was a Welshman, Bryce and Pryce (ap Ryce or Rhys) being the same. Can any connection between the death of Nicholl and the stone in question be shown?

Q. 94.—CYMMER ABBEY.—In a grant by the abbot, A.D. 1504? the style is used "Dei patientia abbas." Is this usual? Can any other instances be adduced?

W.

Q. 95.—HAWARDEN—PENNARD.—It is stated in the Beauties of England and Walss (a work of more merit than is usually allowed, and considerably in advance, archæologically and artistically, of its time) that the old name of Hawarden, in Flintshire, was Pennard. Can anybody point out the authority for this? It is not cited in the passage where the statement occurs.

An Antiquary.

Q. 96.—WREXHAM.—The ancient name of Wrexham is said to have been CABR VANTELL. On what authority does this rest? have a faint recollection of having seen another Welsh name of early date given this place. Can any member aid in ascertaining this

ancient appellation?

Q. 97.—Carnsew of Bokelly, Cornwall.—It has been stated that, in some church of Glamorganshire is to be found a tomb commemorating William Carnsew, of Bokelly. This William married Jane, daughter of Sir Edmund Stradling, of St. Donat's. The tomb is not, now at least, in St. Donat's Church; though it was supposed that it would have been found there. The arms of Carnsew are—sable semée of goats or. Can any information be obtained on this subject?

Q. 98.—Hollow Fowl.—About sixty or seventy years ago, in the south-west of England, if a countryman was asked to dine with a gentleman, he invariably refused to touch game of any kind, nor could any persuasion to the contrary alter his determination. His invariable answer, in his provincial dialect, was, "I never eats hollow fowl." If asked for a reason for his dislike, he had none to give, but that his fathers before him did the same. Does this superstition still prevail in that part of England, or in Wales, or are even the slightest traces of it to be discovered among the older peasantry? Under the term hollow fowl were formerly included hares, rabbits, wild fowl, and every kind of poultry. Does the phrase still exist, and with the same meaning? There is, however, a well known passage in Cæsar, (De Bello Gallico, l. v. c. 12,) which seems to bear on this singular custom. Speaking of the inhabitants of this country, either generally, or of the southern parts, he says,-"Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant-hæc tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causa." (This people therefore esteemed it crime to eat hares, poultry, or geese, although they keep them for their amusement.) One can hardly imagine that this was the reason of their being at the trouble and expense of keeping such animals, which they were not allowed to eat. May it not be conjectured that as some religious scruple prevented them from eating them, so it is not improbable that the same superstition led to their being kept and Birds in general seem to have played an important part in druidic mysteries, and even to the present day they are mixed up with many barbarous and superstitious practices. But whatever may have been the motives of this treatment of certain animals in the time of Cæsar, it is certainly remarkable that a custom not altogether unlike should have existed till so lately, if not even still existing, in A Member. this country.

Q. 99.—Symbols on Early Incised Stones.—The numerous incised stones of Wales, which have been introduced to public notice through the exertions of the Cambrian Archæological Association, are supposed, on the best authority, to number many as old as the fifth century. With the exception of an early Greek cross, do they

bear any other symbol, such as is frequently found in similar monuments of the same age in France, Italy, &c.? Does any instance occur of the monogram of Our Lord, either with a surrounding circle or not? or the Alpha and Omega? or the emblems of the dove, peacock, &c.? If no such examples are known, their absence may form one mark of distinction between the Welsh and continental earliest Christian stones.

A Member.

## Miscellaneans Batices.

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.—The works of the nave and west front of this Cathedral are rapidly advancing towards completion, and in the most satisfactory manner. About £1000 is still required to finish what is contracted for. We observe with pain at the head of the subscription list the name of the Prince of Wales still remaining with only £100 against it; while immediately following is that of the Marquis of Bute with £1000! Numerous private gentlemen are down upon the list for much larger sums than their Prince!

LUDLOW CHURCH.—This important edifice, one of the largest and grandest parochial churches in the kingdom, is now undergoing a thorough repair under the direction of G. G. Scott, Esq. Several thousands of pounds have been subscribed for the purpose, and the result is already most satisfactory. The whole of the pew-abominations, &c., have been removed; and we expect that the interior will

be the most effective of any within our district.

RUTHIN COLLEGIATE CHURCH.—The internal arrangements of this fine church have now been completed, and the building is again in use for parochial worship. All the pews have been removed, with the exception of one, which, with an uncommon display of bad taste and feeling, the representatives of its late owner persist in keeping within the altar rails! The general result is highly satisfactory.

Denbigh Castle.—It gives us great pleasure to announce that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests have granted a lease of Denbigh Castle to the mayor and rector of the town for the time being. The great gateway and other portions are to be repaired, and

the edifice will be secured from further injury.

ST. WINIFRED'S WELL, HOLYWELL.—The lower portions of the masonry of St. Winifred's Well have been repaired, the holes filled up, and the decayed courses of stone made good. We congratulate the Association on this result of their visit to Holywell in 1857;—a result greatly to the credit of the authorities and inhabitants of that town.

CAERNARVON · MUSEUM.—We are sorry to understand that, on recent examination of the contents of this museum, a considerable number of silver English coins, and of Roman bronze ones, with other articles, have been ascertained to be missing. It is supposed that they have been abstracted at the time of its removal to its present

temporary quarters.

ROBBERY OF COINS.—We are sorry to learn that Mrs. Stackhouse Acton has lately had her house broken into, and a considerable number of her valuable collection of coins stolen. Several pennies of our early sovereigns, and some curious coins of later times, together with a fine gold *Alexander*, are among those that are lost. An amendment of the law might go far towards preventing such articles as these from being thrown into the melting-pot of the receiver of stolen goods, by making it better worth his while to sell than to destroy them.

## Reniems.

THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY. No. XX. (Second Notice.)

In this excellent Number of the North-Irish Antiquarian Journal we find two more letters on Irish Antiquities by "Trevelyan," our Cornish friend. It is with the view of laying much of them before the notice of members that we advert to the subject now; and we must therefore give as copious extracts as our limited space will permit. They are such sensible original letters, that we wish we could transfer them to our pages in extenso, and should this now meet the writer's eye, we hope that he will accept it as an invitation to contribute to our own journal—that is, to join our Association. He observes on the same topic of early Irish weapons,—

"The Irish flint arrow-heads divide themselves into two great orders,—barbed and not barbed; and, for a reason which I fear the Danish antiquaries will find it very hard to adopt, I would venture to arrange the barbed arrow-heads first in the series, on the supposition that they are the oldest in form, and copied from still older arrow-heads of the same shape, or as nearly the same shape as could be imitated in flint. This is giving to the flint arrow-head in Ireland a comparatively modern period, and placing it later in point of fact than the imaginary 'Iron Period:' an absurdity which is due altogether to this theory, which some authors would compromise by saying that things of this kind were exceptions to the law; the fact being that the Danish law is a perfect nullity, and of no use except to set collectors of antiquities astray.

"That the barbed flint arrow-heads were not substituted for bronze or copper arrow-heads, I infer from the non-discovery of either in Ireland; and I think it likely that in the olden time the idea of a missile in Ireland was a stone, found everywhere, shaped or not shaped by art, and thrown either by the hand, or by means of some sort of sling made with a stick, with or without

a cord. I do not entirely exclude the use of the common sling or funda used by the Romans and their auxiliaries; but I think we have no evidence of the use of such things here; and the stories in the old Irish books indicate the use of a species of sling which is not the kind to which the attention of antiquaries and artists has been directed latterly. Indeed the Irish have a name for their sling, the weapon used by Cuchullin, when he killed the lady in the form of the white swan near Malahide, and the weapon also which killed Maud, Queen of Connaught, &c. Now these flint arrow-heads appear to me to be classable with other stone missiles, but originally having shafts attached temporarily to them for the purpose of giving them propulsion; and it is not at all unlikely that in some cases provision may have been made that the shaft itself may not have been shot away, or that the arrow-head itself had been fired from the string without any shaft at all:—thus realizing the idea of what a proper Irish missile was, under different circumstances,—a stone of some sort or other.

"There is another point of interest in this inquiry, and that is the limited field of discovery of the flint arrow-heads in Ireland. The number found beyond those places where flint abounds naturally, is very small. The quantity found in other districts is so very limited that we can hardly infer that they were generally used. Yet the great number found in some places, the quantity of imperfect ones, and of the shivers or spauls formed in the process of manufacture, look as if they had been made for sale or exchange by one people or tribe to another—probably by a people who were essentially fishermen and fish-eaters, and had a great deal of leisure on their hands—for the use of a warrior tribe who supplied the iron models which were imitated in flint by the other. Were this the case, it is just likely that the one was a northern tribe from Africa or Spain."

"It should be observed that very few of the flint arrow-heads that I have seen in the Irish collections are injured at their points, or have any appearance of wear and tear; on the contrary, they look quite modern, actually new, as if they had just passed from the hands of the manufacturer. I have heard that some handy people in the neighbourhood of the Giant's Causeway made excellent imitations of the ancient Irish flint arrow-heads, and sold them as genuine antiquities to collectors. If this has been done, I should incline to the inference that their productions would be rather exceptions to the true typical forms than copies of them; for these last would be by far the more difficult to make, and even if well made, they would not materially influence our classification, or the case we would endeavour to found upon it.

"The Irish flint arrow-heads that I have hitherto examined were made and finished, in every instance but one, by means of blows given with unerring aim and judgment. Their points, which are often remarkably thin and sharp, appear to have been produced by the same operation as the other parts. In no case have I seen any trace of grinding up or sharpening, except in the example above alluded to, in which the whole arrow-head had been ground perfectly smooth. This arrow-head differed also in its proportionate thickness from others of the same class, and might be considered in other respects exceptional to any class of arrow-heads that I could form from those collections which I have hitherto examined in Ireland. The grinding smooth, or the sharpening of an edge or a point, by means of friction against another stone, with or without sand, &c., indicates progress in manufacture; and, in the stone celts or axes, as well as in those of flint found in Ireland and Denmark, we observe it used as the finishing process, succeeding that of spauling, splintering, or hammering; though in many cases the article made was finished and perfected without the polishing process at all; the beauty and perfection of the spauling process indicating the dexterity of the artist who made the weapon. In some of the Danish flint dagger-handles we see this perfection of work, producing an imitation of what ladies call herring-bone stitching, a sort of zig-zag edge; and in some of the Irish arrow-heads we may detect the same ornamentation, but the pattern modified, and the angles less acute. In both cases, however, the art is the same."

"Trevelyan," in his fifth and last letter, uses a plate of the typical form of iron and flint tools and weapons, for the purpose of comparison. This plate we have copied on a reduced scale, and the remarks here being quite original, and probably new to our readers, we quote most of them at full length.

"As we have distinctly defined our theory, it now remains for us to apply it. In the accompaning plate of outlines, the arrow-heads 1, 2, 3 and 4, are all of iron. The flint arrow-heads 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, may be collated with 1, 2 and 3; and the flint arrow-heads 13 and 14, may be compared with No. 4. "The iron knife No. 5 may be also collated with the flint knife No. 6.

"The flint arrow-head No. 15 belongs to a type indicated by certain brass or impure bronze spear-heads, of which the Royal Irish Academy's Museum contains several specimens, more or less perfect. In every instance these spears are ornamented by means of gravers and punches, and are, I think, very recent compared with other bronze weapons; belonging to a time when a mixed and impure metal was substituted for good iron and bronze. The flint arrow and javelin-heads of this type are frequently ground quite flat on both sides, and so are brought to an exact similitude with the blades of the javelins, which are extremely thin; thus economising the imperfect brass or bad bronze to a great degree. It was the principle of economy, or a desire to save a more expensive material, which induced people to make this, as well as the other metallic types, in flint.

"In the instance of the knife No. 6 it is evidently a poor imitation of the

iron knife No. 5; but it is quite clear that it is the flint knife which is the

imitation, and not the iron one of the flint.

"Knives of this form (No. 5) are numerous in the Royal Irish Academy's collection. They were found at Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath, and other places where there is local circumstantial evidence than an iron-smith exercised his calling; using a kind of iron which has a very meteoric character, and may be of the same description as the native African iron, which Dr. Livingstone and other travellers and traders have noticed as so widely diffused in the interior, and on the eastern coasts, of that continent.

"As typical forms, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 are pure African. Their exquisite workmanship is African also; and all the beautiful iron spears, knives, brooches, &c., found at Dunshaughlin, and the arrows like 1, 2, 3 and 4, belong to a school of manufacture which still thrives in Africa, and supplies living evidence of a visit of some African iron-working people to Ireland antecedent to the

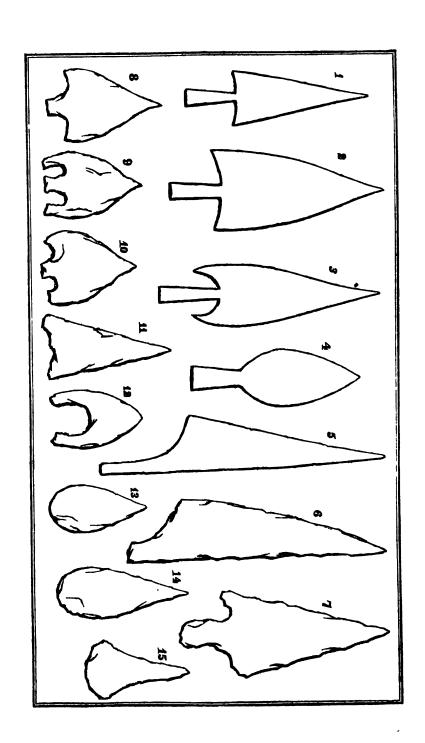
manufacture of the flint arrow-heads."

He concludes his observations thus:—

"The few specimens indicated in the plate give us rather abrupt steps or transitions between the iron and flint types, which do not exist in the original series to which, and not to the few isolated specimens here given, my argument applies.

"It may be asked,—'Have I forgotten the Celtic original of all these iron and flint weapons?' I can find no evidence of these things being Celtic. I must leave that to the school of antiquaries founded by General Vallency in

Ireland, and Mr. Thomsen in Copenhagen.



"I am not prepared to prove that these iron implements of Africian type may have come from Getulia; but as the Irish Milesians were, like the Sepoys of India, a military class—mere soldiers, and not tinkers, or smiths, or labourers—I am not disposed to allow them even the credit of making the weapons thus used; which, whether made of iron, brass, or bronze, I would infer they bought from people who made or who traded in weapons of war; and thus I should conclude that very few of the ancient 'metallic objects found in Ireland are Irish.

"I regret very much the great length to which this notice has run; and I shall only add one remark. I feel extremely anxious that people arranging British and Irish antiquities should keep the several 'finds' together, so that a judicious antiquary may be able to compare directly the things found in specific localities, which are like or unlike each other; for otherwise the study of antiquities, as a stepping-stone to the pre-historic annals of these islands, can make no progress.

"As a Cornishman standing up for the ancient British trade in the metals, as preceding the flint manufacture in Ireland, I hope your readers will acquit me of going beyond the limits of legitimate argument. Living at a distance from the fountain-heads of information, I trust any errors or omissions in my case will be pardoned; my whole object being to draw the attention of those having better opportunities than myself to the examination of a theory which has more advocates than it deserves—I mean the doctrine of 'progressive development.' This I would deny generally, in reference to the extremely early periods of man's sojourn on the surface of this earth; when, as I am led to believe, the use of meteoric iron was universally known, but which material went out of use when the original stock was exhausted."

THE SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND. Aberdeen: Printed for the Spalding Club. 1856. 1 vol. large 4to.

This sumptuous and admirable work, which does so much honour to the archæologial taste and liberality of the Spalding Club, though its author's name does not appear on the title-page, is understood to have been compiled by Mr. John Stuart, of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and of our own Society too. We take shame to ourselves for not noticing it sooner; but the difficulty of illustrations lay in the way, and the plates themselves required so much careful study and comparison with the sculptured stones of Ireland and Wales, that we did not feel ourselves competent to the task. This work, like its precursor, the Stones of Angus, edited by the late Mr. Chalmers, reflects great credit on the state of antiquarian knowledge in Scotland. It could not have been produced in a country where archæological pursuits were not much followed, and generally appreciated. It shows, too, that the Club know how to spend their money well; indeed, its sumptuousness, its artistic excellence, and the very circumstance of its being privately printed for distribution only, ought to make all southern antiquaries jealous of the honour of having produced it.

It is in this style that sculptured stones and early monumental remains should be illustrated; it is only upon a scale of this great size that full justice can be done them. Though we ourselves have endeavoured, to the utmost of the means placed at our disposal, to make the illustrations of similar subjects in our own pages scientifically

correct, yet we have always been conscious of having reduced them far too much, of having abridged and omitted details of certain scientific value, and of having lost almost all the vivid effect which nature gives, and truth demands. These Scottish stones, on the contrary, are here delineated of such a size, that the minutest details are made to appear, and they convey a good idea of the general effect and nature of the stones, even to the least informed observer. It would certainly have been desirable that photography should have been employed to aid the artists in their delineations; this is one of the next great steps to be taken in the illustration of scientific works; the hand of nature must be made to transfer all her severely correct, yet beautifully harmonious forms, to the metal or the block of the engraver. Or else photographic—we wish we could say photoglyphic—views should take the place of engravings and woodcuts; and nature should come bodily into the portfolio of the antiquarian collector. This is another next forward step to be taken; progress of this kind is making in architectural subjects; but it should now be looked for in monumental ones. As soon as ever the commercial part of the problem is solved, and the prices of photographic illustrations are reduced within reasonable limits, we shall make a fresh start in archæological inquiry; and our reasoning will then be more correct, because we shall have more of the positively real, of the mathematically true, before us, instead of so much of the conjectural and the approximative, which antiquaries have hitherto had to content themselves with. We hope to see photography applied to the copying of MSS.; and then all disputes as to inaccuracies of transcripts, conjectural emendations and interpolations, will be greatly diminished, if not entirely removed. In all scientific pursuits nature admits of being interrogated, examined, and reproduced with the most minute exactness. We must introduce more of this into archæology; and it is photography that will do much to effect this indispensable result.

The work opens with a preface, or rather an introductory essay, of twenty-seven pages, in which Mr. Stuart, who signs his name to it, gives a lucid and comprehensive view of all that is known concerning sculptured stones in Scotland, together with illustrative references to similar remains in Ireland, Wales, and other countries. We learn from this his opinion, that the stones, figured in this book, which are scattered over the eastern shores, plains and lower grounds of Scotland, form, by their ornamentation, types sui generis, such as are very distinct from those in other countries. We do not know that his inductions are here borne out by facts quite so decidedly as the learned author thinks; for, with the exception of certain very peculiar symbolical ornaments occurring pretty generally on these stones, all their other ornaments and designs are to be found on similar monuments elsewhere. We admit readily that all these Scotch stones do exhibit marked peculiarities; they seem to be the work of a special "school of design,"-to use a modern phrase; but still they have a very evident affinity to other stones in Ireland and Wales; they indicate a similar

state of art-culture; they point to epochs of construction probably contemporaneous. A still more important opinion of Mr. Stuart's is expressed in this preface, and we are glad to meet with it, because it corroborates the opinions, and gives wider extension to the discoveries, of other antiquaries in Wales, Ireland, and Britanny, viz., that very many, if not all of these sculptured stones, are funereal memorials, and that they have been originally accompanied by the actual inhumation of bodies. And not only this, but that nearly all the stone circles (hitherto termed "Druidic," upon very slender grounds of conjecture) are also sepulchral memorials, accompanied with proofs of sepulture. Mr. Stuart backs the opinion of Montfaucon concerning Stonehenge with his own, derived from careful inductory observations among the northern circles, that this great assemblage of stones is in the main of a funereal meaning; and throws out this hint, which we should like to see verified with proper care by some scientific society, that if excavations were made at Stonehenge, sepulchral deposits would probably be found. Our Breton friends inform us that such is the case at Carnac and Locmariaker; and we know that Ireland, as well as Wales, furnishes abundant proofs confirmatory of this supposition. Some, perhaps many, sculptured stones are most probably terminal; but terminal stones are seldom ornamented with figures of men and animals; at least such is the result of our present knowledge of the subject. The supposition is worthy of extensive verification; and it will thus, at some future day, be seen whether we are to admit it as an archæological fact.

When we have such a magnificently illustrated book as this before us, giving a conspectus of all the monuments of a specific class in some one country, it enables us to compare with it, and to "bring to book," the related monuments of other countries. We ought to lay down by this present book much that we hear of or see in Scandinavia—all that we know of in Britanny, Wales, Ireland, and England. We may, by means of its plates, draw some kind of comparison with the schools of sculpture in Egypt, Assyria, and India. It contains a certain number of positive facts of archæological art. It proves the state of civilization of a certain district at a period which, though not fixed, may, by induction, be approximated to, and which seems not earlier than the ninth or tenth century. It gives a fixed point of comparison and of criticism, such as British archæologists have long wanted.

We have already got another admirable book in O'Neill's Crosses of Ireland. We have the smaller works of Edmonds and Cumming on Cornwall and the Isle of Man. We have done something in our own Association and its Journal towards illustrating the sculptured stones of Wales; but we now decidedly require the assembling of all the sculptured and inscribed stones of Wales and Britanny in comprehensive works such as Mr. Stuart's, each forming its own corpus—illustrated as amply—described as clearly.

This Scotch book presents no less than 138 plates; some containing several stones, all executed in the best style of tinted lithography; and,

as Gallic antiquaries would say, "it leaves nothing to be desired." We do not intend to go into any descriptions; the plates to be judged of must be seen: Mr. Stuart's account of them, occupying 44 pages, must be read; his maps of their sites (archæological maps are always useful) must be inspected. We will confine our remarks to two points:—

I.—Certain symbolical ornaments, observed on many of these

II.—Certain facts mentioned incidentally in the author's accounts of

On many of the stones occur one or all of the following sculptures, viz.:--

First,—A kind of crescent, sometimes with the horns upturned, sometimes inverted, and through it running a broken sceptre or spear, sometimes plain, more commonly ornamented.

Secondly,—Two circles, or knobs, or wheel-shaped things, connected with two or more lines; sometimes an oblong set of lines, with circular pieces cut out; and through these lines running a sceptre, or spear, broken in two places, and forming the figure of **Z**; all either plain, or more commonly ornamented.

Thirdly,—A circle, plain or ornamented, with a handle, very much

resembling a mirror, or hand-glass.

Fourthly,—A comb.

Fifthly,—The figure of an animal, like a seal or walrus (Mr. Stuart calls it an elephant); and sometimes a bull.

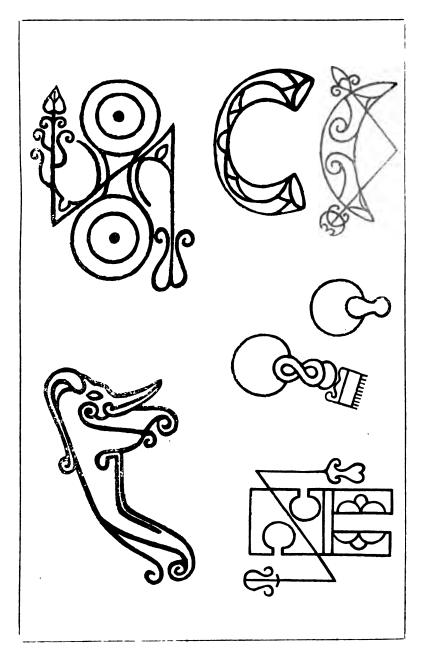
Sixthly,—A fish, evidently a salmon, well delineated.

These constitute the peculiar ornaments of the Scotch stones, distinguishing them from those of other countries. They occur on the regular crosses, as well as on the rude boulder stones. They are of all degrees of merit in design and execution, and are apparently of various periods. The other ornaments of those stones consist of interlaced work, knobs, animal-borders, representations of hunting scenes, processions, sacred personages, &c., such as we find commonly on similar monuments in other countries.

The author states that the peculiar symbolical ornaments just mentioned have given rise to great diversities of conjecture as to their interpretations; and that, too, without any satisfactory result hitherto

We believe, ourselves, after a careful comparison of all these ornaments with each other—after a careful induction of arguments from the nature of the monuments, the probable civilization of the periods of their construction, so as to lead to some indication of what they might be, and after an equally careful elimination of all the things that they could not be,—we believe that they are symbolical indications of the rank and occupation of the personages commemorated, derived in part from their personal insignia and dress, in part from their offices and occupations.

We conjecture the broken sceptre, or broken spear, or broken har-





poon, (for we seem to discern all three of those instruments,) to indicate the departure of authority, through the decease of the person to whom they belonged. They show rank and authority now gone and ended. The broken sceptre or spear mark the chief or prince dead, and his power done. It is thrust between the two large fibulæ or brooches of his mantle,—the mantle and the brooches worn only by persons of rank and authority. Or it is a broken spear, thrust uselessly through his hunting toils; or his harpoon through his fishing apparatus; or it is his spear broken and thrust through his shield; or it may in some cases be the broken arrow thrust through the string of the distended bow.

The glass and the comb we conceive to be typical of the personal polish and refinement of the deceased; they belonged in those days only to persons of rank; they indicate the man of fashion, the

polished noble, the lordly chief,—possibly his elegant lady.

The hardest symbols concerning which to hazard conjectures (all conjectures in archæology are hazardous, most of them vain!) are those of the walrus, seal, and fish. The fish may be a quasi-Christian symbol; but the seal or walrus must surely refer to the nautical pursuits of the deceased; he was a mighty king of the ocean; he hunted these monsters in the stormy Scotch or Norwegian seas; we should say now-a-days that he must have been captain of a whaler,

or member of a northern yacht club!

Anyhow, we conjecture all these symbolical ornaments to refer to the rank and occupation of the person commemorated. Our suppositions in these respects derive confirmation from the nature of the relics found in Scandinavian graves, so common in Shetland, Orkney, and probably on the eastern coast of Scotland. The double brooch, or double fibula, is commonly discovered in them; a comb is an article of frequent occurrence. Shield bosses are also found, but we have not heard of any sceptres, though spear-heads, we believe, are by no means uncommon. Judging, too, from the semi-mythic figures of animals or sea monsters found in Scandinavian sculptures—known to be such we should say that a very strong resemblance, if not an identity, may be established between them and the walrus, or whale, or seal, which Mr. Stuart designates as the elephant. We cannot but think that, on the whole, most of these sculptured stones were cut and erected by the Scandinavian invaders and inhabitants of Scotland, not by the Celts; and for further information upon this point, we would refer our readers to the source from which we have, in part, derived it ourselves, -the learned Memoirs of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen.

Some of these stones have Oghams on them; a very few have inscriptions. The letters drawn on the first stone in the book are not sufficiently correct: had they been photographed, or could we have obtained a rubbing, or a paper-cast of them, our friend Mr. Westwood would have made no bones about them, but would have read them off as easily as his A B C. We hope, indeed, that Mr. Stuart may be

able to forward such casts, or rubbings, to his palseographical fellow-member at Oxford, and the correct reading will be sent down to Scotland by the next post. As for the Oghams, we could give readings of our own; but they ought to be referred to Professor Graves, at Trinity College, Dublin, who makes no more of an Oghamic stroke, or notch, than Mr. Westwood does of a palseographic scratching, such as we often indulged in during our happy school-boy days, when furtively playing on a slate at tit-tat-to!

The Oghams and inscriptions on these Scotch stones are subjects

for separate grave disquisitions;—and so we leave them.

We now come to the second point mentioned above, and advert to certain facts about the sites and states of these stones, &c., mentioned

by the author when describing them.

In the first place, then, on perusing Mr. Stuart's accounts of the stones, delineated in the volume before us, it is impossible to avoid being struck with the constant mention of stone circles, tumuli, standing-stones, (or meini-hirion as we Cymry call them,) still to be found in Scotland. They seem to be far more numerous than what we now find in Wales; and we should like to see some competent Scottish antiquary compiling topographical lists, with suitable descriptions of every one of those uninscribed mute mementoes of the ancient inhabitants of that country. Dr. Wilson has only gone over the surface of the subject—most ably indeed; but it is worthy of being worked out in detail, and it cannot be undertaken with propriety except by this spirited Spalding Club, or by the Royal Society of Scottish Antiquaries.

In the second place, it is impossible to suppress one's regret, or rather indignation, at the numerous cases of wanton, unnecessary, mischievous destruction and removal of early remains of all kinds mentioned by Mr. Stuart. It would appear that the landowners of Scotland have not been one whit more enlightened in this respect than those of Wales, or of England; they seem not to have known the value of these silent but long-enduring proofs of national existence, these tests of national history, these relics of national honour. Sometimes we read of them being taken down for the sake of "improvement," sometimes for agricultural levellings, and sometimes by the landlords, but most commonly by the tenants. Scotch lairds would thus seem to have as ignorant stewards and bailiffs as those on the southern side of the Border. These accounts make us shrewdly suspect that Scots are "na sae unco' canny" as we used to think them. Since they find that it pays to preserve deer, cannot they be made to understand that it also pays to preserve ancient monuments? Why! it would be worth while for Scotch innkeepers—generally alive to their own interests—to form an association for the preservation of these early remains, whereby they might entice many a score of foolish, but money-bagged, antiquaries to cross the Tweed, or the Forth, or even some of the northern streams. There positively exists a numerous class of tourists who do annually go about looking after

old stones and green mounds; these men require conveyances; they must eat and drink; they must be lodged; they do not spend so much money perhaps as sportsmen, but they pay as well as artists at any rate. We seriously recommend this subject to the consideration of northern hosts; and, in order that we may not seem to accuse our Scotch friends of Vandalism unjustly, we close our notice of this book—this enviable book—with the following instances taken at random out of others to be found throughout it.

P. 17.—"The standing stone of Sauchope was till lately placed on an earthen mound, near to the burgh of Crail. . . . . . In consequence of the straightening of marches between two conterminous proprietors in 1851, the mound was demolished, and the stone removed to a position a little to the north of its former site." (It is certainly lucky that the stone was not demolished by these thick-skulls, whose mathematics were so scanty that they could not carry a boundary line right over a mound, but were forced to get the latter removed. Are there any schoolmasters in Scotland?)

P. 25.—"Several stone coffins have been found in the neighbourhood; and in a field lying westward from the church stood the 'Coort-Law.' It was an artificial mound, about 15 feet high, composed of a mass of stones, such as are found in the adjoining lands, and covered over with earth. When it was taken down there were several stone coffins found in it," &c., &c. (Why was it taken down?

what was the good of doing this?)

P. 33.—"Of the stones at Kintore, Nos. 2 and 3 were found imbedded in the Castle Hill, a mound near the church, recently removed by railway operations, which was about 30 feet in height, by 150 feet in diameter." (Just as if the stupid railway surveyor could not have improved the radius of his curve, and gone round the hill instead of over it! We heartly hope that the dividends are under one per cent!)

P. 34.—"It is probable that some of the other stones in the Castle Hill were sculptured; but unfortunately they were speedily broken up for building railway bridges." (Stones are rather scarce in Scotland,

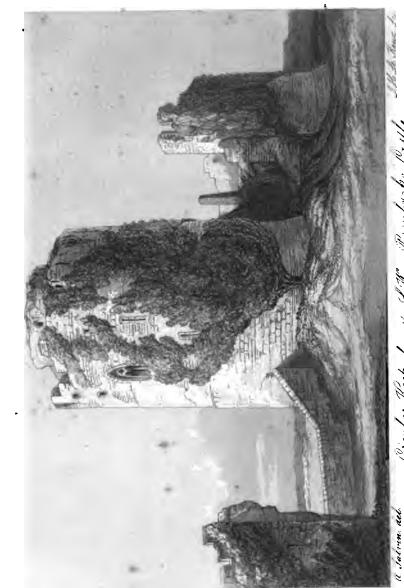
it would appear!)

P. 39.—"The fragment was recently discovered in the Prince's Street Gardens, Edinburgh. It forms a cover to a bridge in one of the walks below the castle on the east side," &c. ("Forms," quotha! and at Edinburgh, the modern Athens! where there is a Royal Society of Antiquaries, and an University, and a Museum,—and a certain learned person, who has written a most valuable book on the Sculptured Stones, &c., &c.!)

And so on, and so on, usque ad nauseam. Whether these ancient remains were formed by the Goths or Vandals we doubt; but it is

pretty evident that they have been in their custody.

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Cicalar Resp from the SM Win brothe Castle.

# Archwologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXII.—APRIL, 1860.

THE EARLS, EARLDOM, AND CASTLE OF PEMBROKE.

No. VI.

#### THE EARLS MARESCHAL.

(Continued from # 11.)

V.—RICHARD MARESCHAL, Earl Mareschal, and of Pem-

broke, succeeded his brother, 6th April, 1231.

The new earl had lived much abroad. It is probable that, not expecting to inherit, he intended to settle in Normandy, and thus save the Norman possessions of his family; for, on his father's death in 1219, his brother, by charter in June, 1220, made over to him the lands for which Earl William the elder had done homage. No doubt the permission to hold lands under both crowns had been accorded specially to the late earl, who was feared and respected by the two monarchs, and we shall see that it was also extended to more than one of his sons. Richard may have been an executor of his father's will, for, 8th December, 1222, he was sued by the sheriff of Bucks for the earl's debt. 5th September, 1226, the sheriff of Hants is directed to hold his lands, probably on occasion of his taking some hostile step in France.  $(Exc. \ e \ Rot. \ F. \ I. \ 97, \ 1\overline{4}7.)$ 

Upon Earl Richard's accession he was serving with France in Britanny, the very province in which Henry and the English were about that time ignominiously

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foiled, and their ally the duke put to personal shame by the French king. The hesitation, therefore, in admitting him to his rights, and the advice of De Burgh to withhold his Irish estates, do not appear unreasonable.

The earl was a popular and powerful man. He was regarded as the "very flower of chivalry of his time,"--- "militiæ flos temporum modernorum,"—and, with his rank and territorial influence, might possibly combine with the Irish, or the Welsh, as in fact he did, and shake

the throne which his father had rendered stable.

Upon the occurrence of a truce the earl came home, and claimed his inheritance. He found the king in Wales building Maud's Castle. His reception was rude. Henry called upon him to await the result of the possible pregnancy of the countess; and then, upon a charge of treasonable correspondence with France, ordered him to leave the kingdom in fifteen days, on pain of perpetual imprisonment. This is said to have been the advice of De Burgh, then Warden of the Welsh Marches, and to whom, and to Margaret his countess, Henry had just granted the honour of Caermarthen and Cardigan in tail general, and the services of John de Braose for Caermarthen and Cardigan held under the honour of Gower. (C. R. P. 15.) It is however difficult to reconcile his harsh reception with an entry on the Fine Rolls, stating that, on the 2nd August, 1231, Richard, Earl Mareschal, had relief, and did homage for the late earl's lands. (Exc. e R. F. I. 216.)

Whatever this may mean, Richard does not appear to have been fully in possession until, having laid siege to Pembroke Castle, he went to Ireland, and there alarmed the king by his display of power. Henry then gave way; but the government of Striguil Castle was committed for two years to John de Monmouth, a very eminent and loyal marcher baron. (Dugd. Bar. I. 442.) The earl's success was no doubt hastened by Henry's failure in Wales in 1231, when he was forced by Llewelyn to retire from Montgomery, and to leave the Welsh free to reconquer Caerleon, destroy Neath and Kidwelly, and

take possession of the recently strengthened castle of Cardigan. These disasters also were not amended by the disgrace of De Burgh, which occurred in July, 1232. M. Paris says the earl had gained sufficient influence with Henry to prevent his marriage with Isabel of Scotland, on the ground that De Burgh had already married her sister Margaret; the fact however was that Isabel had been some years married to Roger Bigod. In truth there was either no personal ill will between the two nobles, or the pressure of events removed it; for when De Burgh fell into disgrace, in 1232, the Earl Mareschal was one of the three securities for his good conduct; and when, in October, 1233, he fled from Devizes, he was escorted by the earl's men, and took refuge with the earl, then in open rebellion, in Wales, and was thus protected until his restoration to favour early in 1234.

Richard's principal grievance, after he had obtained his honours and estates, was the interference of the king's foreign favourites in his affairs. Henry turned out Richard de Rodun, the earl's deputy, and several other of his officers in Ireland, and replaced them with Poitevins. Upon this the earl, strong in the support of public opinion, at once collected his friends, and confronted the king in person, declaring that the foreigners could no longer be tolerated. The king, supported by De Rupibus, held firm, upon which the earl and his party retired in anger, swearing to stand together for redress while soul and body were united. Soon afterwards Henry summoned them to Westminster, and, on their non-appearance, confiscated their estates.

The barons met in London, 1st August, 1233, and the earl was about to join them with the Earl of Cornwall; but, on being warned by the Countess of Cornwall, his sister-in-law, of the probable treachery of her husband, who had been tampered with by De Rupibus and the Earls of Chester and Lincoln, he at once retired into Wales, where he was highly popular, and allied himself to Llewelyn, then in the flood-tide of success, but expecting a formidable attack from King Henry.

On the non-appearance of the earl in London, the king again summoned him, and finally, as a recusant, wasted his lands. No time was lost on either side. Soon after Assumption-day, 15th August, the king marched from Gloucester to Hereford, and sent on his defiance to the Mareschal by the Bishop of St. David's. The earl, meantime, attended by Owen ap Griffith, raised his standard at St. David's, and was at once joined by Maelgon, Rhys Crik, and Llewelyn. They marched eastwards unopposed, drove in a party under Warine Bisset, who was slain before Cardiff, and took that castle and Abergavenny. Finally they met the royal troops before one of the Monmouthshire castles, and slew 500 horse, and many infantry.

The sequence of events in this memorable campaign has not been very accurately preserved. According to Paris, Henry proposed to the earl to surrender the besieged castle to save the royal dignity, promising to restore it in fifteen days, and redress the public grievances. He adds that the castle was so surrendered, and, on the king's breaking faith, was retaken by the earl early in October. The news reached Henry, 9th October, in London, and he directed the bishops to excommunicate the earl, which they declined to do. He then issued summonses for a muster at Gloucester on the morrow of

All Saints, 2nd November, and took the field.

It was probably in one of the attendant skirmishes that Bishop Neville, of Chichester, fled with the king and his attendants—" nudi fugientes omnia quæ sua erant amiserunt." (Wendover, IV. 227; Foss, II. 426.) The earl, however, affected great respect for the king's person, and declined to command when Henry was in the field. Notwithstanding that the Bishop of Winchester had secured the support of certain great barons, the earl's cause was popular, and the more so that he was careful to treat his English prisoners kindly, and foreigners with severity.

On Henry's retreat the earl advanced; but on the king's return from London, and advance by Gloucester upon Hereford, he fell back upon Grosmont Castle, where he

was reinforced, 30th October, by De Burgh, and prepared to stand a siege. The garrison proposed a sally, but the earl would not attack the king's person. On the 11th November, 1233, the castle fell, but the earl had retired. The king then returned to Gloucester, leaving his troops with John de Monmouth.

The earl now reconnoitred Monmouth Castle; but, while thus employed, the castellan, Baldwin de Guisnes, a Poitevin, sallied out with a superior force. The earl was personally engaged, and well sustained his reputation, though, his horse being killed by a lance, he was near being taken in single combat by Baldwin. His life was saved by a cross-bowman of his train, and the arrival of a reinforcement on his side ended the affray.

Soon afterwards Monmouth attempted a surprize, but his plan was discovered, and turned against him, and he and his fellow-commander, Ralph de Toni, narrowly escaped being taken by the earl. At the close of the campaign, and of the year, the earl fell back upon Caermarthen, which, however, held out against him with success, being provisioned by sea. Here he lost by death

his ally Rhys Crik.

The exertions made on the king's behalf in England had been very great. Thus, among other magnates, Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, sent certain knights to put down the earl (H. of Ex. I. 617), whose great power and high character as a soldier were well known. Nearly thirty years afterwards, the period is referred to as "tempore predicto occasione guerræ motæ inter Regem et Ricardum comitem Marescallum." (Exc. e R. F. II. 363.)

On the Thursday preceding Christmas-day the king, being at Gloucester, sent a monk to the earl, at Margam, to propose terms, upon his submission. This, as the king was the aggressor, having withheld or deprived him of his office of Earl Mareschal, he refused. Shortly afterwards, in the week after Epiphany, 1234, he joined his forces to those of Llewelyn, and made a general advance upon the border southwards from Shrewsbury,

which they burned. Henry, completely defenceless, retired from Gloucester to Winchester; and the Welsh, having recovered nearly the whole Principality, were not disposed to go further. The king now went northwards; upon which the earl, leaving Llewelyn to treat for an honourable peace, which he soon afterwards obtained. proceeded to Ireland with his brother Walter, then under age, there to carry on the war. (C. R. P. 10-16.)

Upon this Henry released the Irish tenants from their feudal ties, and held out to them a hope of obtaining the earl's lands. Soon afterwards we find him thanking them for their support. The Bishop of Winchester also put forth a royal proclamation, it was said, without the king's assent, promising the earl's Irish lands to whoever should take him, alive or dead. This measure produced its effect; for, in the midst of his warlike preparations, the earl was treacherously stabbed in the back, and kidnapped. Bartholomew Cotton (p. 117) says the king had made overtures of peace to the earl, which did not reach him. He is said to have been betrayed by his follower, Geoffrey de Marisco, and, when the heat of the battle was directed against the person of the earl, he was stabled in the secret parts of his body with an anlace,1 or Irish skene, his horse having been hamstrung.

He died, not without suspicion of a poisoned wound, sixteen days afterwards, 16th April, his body was laid in the choir of the Friars Minors, at Kilkenny, and he

had an obit among the founders of Tintern.

Richard was much lamented. He was not only popular in Wales, but his opposition to the detested Poitevins had. made him a general favourite in England. In person he possessed the bodily strength and ready courage of his race, and he was besides a man of good abilities, and, for his time and rank, of unusual literary attainments.

The news of his death reached the royal ear at Wood-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anlace is said to be the weapon with which the Irish build, fight, and cut their food. It hung to the side. "Laz," or "Lace," being "Latus;" hence the German "Seiten-gewehr;" Telum adlaterale. (Ducange.)

stock. The king professed much grief, and to regard the old services of the father rather than the recent rebellion of the son. He went through the appearance of mourning for him as for a brother, asserted that his equal as a valiant knight was not left in England, and directed a requiescat for his soul to be performed in the royal chapel. No doubt he greatly feared the unpopularity attaching to the manner of his death, and for this reason at once knighted his next brother, young Gilbert Mareschal, and admitted him to the honours and inheritance.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, at a solemn meeting of nobles, charged the Bishop of Winchester with instigating the Irish insurrection, and produced his letter, of which the king denied all knowledge, though he did not neglect formally to thank those Irish who had served him against the earl. (C. R. P. 16.) The bishop took sanctuary at Winchester, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald was called upon to exculpate himself by oath from any knowledge of the plot for the earl's death.

Earl Richard died unmarried. He is reputed to have

founded the Grey Friars in Kilkenny.

VI.—GILBERT MARESCHAL, Earl Mareschal, and of Pembroke, succeeded, 16th April, 1234, without challenge to the family honours and inheritance. He was educated for the Church, but had achieved some little distinction as a civilian. 1 Henry III., he was appointed Justice of Ireland, and was so acting, 10th November, 1218, a few months after which he assumed the cross, and had a safe conduct for Palestine. Whether he actually went thither is uncertain; but, 11th August, 1220, he arranged with the king, at Oxford, concerning the custody of Ireland, no doubt during his proposed absence. (Cal. R. P. 11, 12.)

In 1220, 14 Henry III., he seems to have married; for, on the 14th September, the sheriff of Berks was ordered to attach certain lands belonging to Gilbert Mareschal and Maud de Lanvallei his wife, she being in the king's gift, and having married without his licence. She was no doubt the daughter of William, Baron Lanvallei, who died 1214. (Exc. e R. F. I. 202.)

In or about 21 Henry III., Gilbert Mareschal was summoned before the king to warrant to John Mareschal the manors of Folesham, co. Norfolk, and Norton, co.

Northampton, claimed by Henry as escheats.

Defendant pleaded that it was against the Charter that pleas should follow the king, instead of being tried at Common Bench. To this it was answered that this was a plea touching the king himself, and should be tried before him; and so the defendant's exception was overruled. This is one of the not frequent instances in which the king heard causes in person. (Madox, I. 101; Plac. de Q. W. 3 Edward III. p. 561.)

Upon his brother's death, Earl Gilbert followed the king to Gloucester, and there, 28th May, 1234, did homage, and received investiture of his estates, English, Irish and Welsh; and, at Whitson, he was knighted, and received the mareschal's baton. In the same year he surrendered the castle of Striguil to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the king, and received it again, probably with some limitation in the tenure. He also thought it prudent to take out a pardon. (C. R. P. 16.)

Earl Richard's death removed a considerable obstacle to peace with the Welsh. Prince Llewelyn, content with his success, acceded to terms negociated by the archbishop, upon the condition that all his English confede-

rates were included in the amnesty.

In 1235 the earl had a grant in fee of the honour of Caermarthen, and of certain lands and castles in that county and Cardigan. He had also the honour of Glamorgan during the minority of his nephew Richard, Earl of Gloucester, then about fourteen years old, together with an honour which had belonged to Gilbert de Aquila, and a thousand marks of fines due from four Irish knights of "the late earl, the king's enemy." (C. R. P. 17; Dugd. Bar. I. 605.)

In this year, also, his former wife being no doubt dead, he married Margaret, the accomplished daughter and sister of William the Lion and Alexander II., Kings of Scotland, who had been proposed as a wife to Henry. The marriage was celebrated at Berwick, 1st August, in presence of King Alexander, who paid down ten thousand marks as her portion. He expected, it was thought, the aid of the Earl Mareschal to promote his claim upon the earldom of Northumberland.

In 1236 the earl seems to have become distrustful of Llewelyn, for he took, by stratagem, Marchen Castle, wherever that may be, from Morgan ap Howell, and fortified it and Cardigan against the prince. He also reinstated Morgan ap Howell, of Caerleon, in the custody of that castle.

In this year, also, he assisted at the queen's coronation, bearing the baton of Earl Mareschal; and afterwards, with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, he assumed the cross, and vowed to visit the Holy Land. Richard kept this vow a few years later, but the earl was not destined to accompany him.

On the occasion of this coronation John Fitz-Alan, Ralph Mortimer, John of Monmouth, and Walter Clifford, claimed, as "Marchiones de Marchia Walliæ," to carry the canopy which belonged to the barons of the Cinque

Ports. (Cruise on Dignities, 19.)

In 1237 he appeared at St. Paul's with the royal household, guarding the person of the legate; and about this time, 22 Henry III., the king admitted his clerk, Richard de Swindon (Swindon was a family manor), to reside at the Exchequer as Mareschal for the earl, the barons certifying to his fitness. (Hist. of Exch. II. 285.)

In 1238, after the marriage of his brother's widow with De Montfort, Earl Gilbert joined the Earl of Cornwall in one of the usual armed remonstrances against the employment of foreigners, and the king's subserviency to Rome. The foreigners more especially indicated were the Lusignans, sons of the queen-mother, a hungry hive, who now became conspicuous in England.

The ill blood seems to have continued, for at Christmas, 1239, the royal feast at Winchester was disturbed by the Earl Mareschal, who was at first refused admittance, but who, on being admitted, spoke so plainly, that Henry

rebuked him sharply, and recapitulated and insisted upon the earl's own offences, and those of Earl Richard, so that the earl and his brother Walter withdrew in high dudgeon

to the North of England.

In this year (15th January, 1239) died the earl's sister, Isabel, Countess of Cornwall. After the funeral, or according to other accounts, on St. Martin's-eve (10th November) the earl and the Earl of Cornwall met at Northampton, and there swore upon the high altar of All Saints' to proceed to the Holy Land. The Earl Mareschal qualified his oath with the proviso that he was first to be reconciled to the king, which the Earl of Cornwall, as his brother-in-law, undertook to arrange. The impending death of Llewelyn, which occurred in 1240, rendered this, however, a critical time for such an absence.

The king was not at once to be conciliated, but, before the Earl of Cornwall sailed, he gave way, influenced, thought M. Paris, by certain gifts from Earl Gilbert.

At this general pacification the king induced the earl to receive the excuses of Maurice Fitzgerald, now Justice of Ireland, for the share imputed to him in his brother's death, Maurice undertaking to found a monastery for the weal of Earl Richard's soul.

The death of Llewelyn in 1240, and the confusion created by the bitter internal feuds of the Welsh, caused the earl to revisit Wales, where he took possession of, and strengthened, Cardigan Castle, in opposition to David the

new prince. (Powell, 260.)

The earl's preparations for the East being now, 1241, nearly completed, he proclaimed a tournament a cross-bow shot from Hertford, calling it, to evade the royal proclamation, "a fortune." Here, anxious to show that his peaceful education had not impaired his skill in knightly exercises, he displayed great boldness; and, while spurring and checking his powerful unbroken Italian war-horse, the bridle snapped at the bit, and the animal raised his head and struck his rider sharply on the breast. The earl was heavily armed, and much fatigued; he fell senseless, and was dragged with one foot in the stirrup,

and severely injured. He died that same evening, 27th June, in the friary at Hertford, bequeathing a legacy to the church of St. Mary there. His bowels were buried before the high altar, and the day following his death his body was conveyed to the Temple, in London, his brother Walter leading the procession. His effigy remains in the Temple Church. He had an obit, as a founder, at Henry, writing from Clarendon, 29th June, 1241, informs John de Monmouth that Gilbert Earl Mareschal has "gone the way of all flesh," and directs him, showing the royal letters, instantly to take and hold the castles of Striguil, Usk, and Caerleon, and should the castellans demur to report them. John himself was made governor of Monmouth Castle, and either was already, or was then named, chief bailiff of the counties or honours of Caermarthen and Cardigan, and of South Wales. (Exc. e R. F. I. 347; C. R. P. 19.)

Earl Gilbert left no issue. He founded a lazar-house, probably for Templars, at Baldock. Margaret his widow soon after his death, 1242, had a grant of all the king's wheat in Cromdon, Notts, (A. R. O. I. 3,) and 27th November the new earl had respite of scutage due upon certain knight's fees, the dower lands of Countess Margaret. She died in London, childless, in 1244.

VII.—Walter Mareschal, Earl Mareschal, and of Pembroke, succeeded his brother in June, 1241, being then probably about 25 or 26 years old. As he was in opposition to the Poitevin princes, he did not at once obtain his inheritance, but he had permission to do homage to the King of France for his lands in Normandy. (Cal. R. P. p. 19.) He began his career by a dispute with the monks of Hertford about his brother's bequest.

On applying to have his homage received, Henry dwelt with much bitterness upon the offences of his family, and noticed his own disobedience in assisting at a tournament. The young earl replied firmly, but with discretion; and the king, advised by the Bishop of Durham and others, gave way; and on Sunday, 27th October, the earl was formally admitted into his inheritance, the

castles of Caermarthen and Cardigan being alone withheld as securities for the loyalty of the district. time these also were restored, together with Goderich, an old family possession, which had been taken from the late earl.

In 1241, 5th October, an order to the sheriff of Berks to sell up the chattels of the late earl for a debt of £100 to the crown, was countermanded, and the debt remitted till Michaelmas. Also the earl was permitted to do homage to the King of France for his lands in Normandy. (Exc. e R. F. I. 355.) 26 Henry III. he was allowed the office of Mareschal with its appurtenances, together with his franchises in Wales. (C. R. P. 20.)

On the return in this year, 26 Henry III., of the Earl of Cornwall from Palestine, Earl Walter renewed the family connection, and joined him and the Earl of Hereford in a remonstrance to the king, and afterwards in an expedition to Gascony, May, 1242, which, as was usual

with Henry's undertakings, was unsuccessful.

Since Earl Gilbert's death, Welsh affairs had remained in a very unsettled state. Henry, by degrees, put forward his own son Edward into authority there, to the exclusion of David, the son and successor of Llewelyn. Earl Walter's name does not however appear in these transactions, possibly from his declining health. He died, childless, at his castle of Goderich, 24th November, 1245, and was buried at Tintern. On the 3rd December the sheriffs of Sussex, Dorset, Worcester, Oxford, Gloucester, Berks, Bucks and Hereford were ordered to take charge of his lands, which were then committed officially to Robert Waleran. (Foss, II. 503.)

The schedule of a part of his estates is given in the inquisition held 40 Edward III., copied, no doubt, from a contemporary record. By this it appears that he died seized of Tenby, St. Florence, Pembroke, Haverford,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Magna Charta provides that should the tenant-in-chief of a lay fee die in debt to the king, on the showing of the king's letters of summons by the sheriff, the crown officer may attach the chattels to the amount of the debt, and nothing is to be removed until the king is satisfied.

Castlemartin, Narberth Castle, lands, &c., in Kilgerran, Goderich Castle and Trilloch Manor, co. Hereford, and in Monmouth Striguil, Magor, Usk, Caerleon and Tudenham, besides English possessions, making about sixty-five manors, or parts of manors. (I. P. M. II. 278; Foss, II. 503.)

On the 21st July, 1246, notwithstanding former orders, Waleran was to retain the castle of Haverford, and £65 16s. 8d. of rent in Haverford, belonging to the portion of the wife of David, son of Llewelyn, formerly Prince of Wales, one of the heirs of the said earl. The castle was to be kept in safe custody during pleasure. And this portion seems to have been retained after the general estates were given up to the heirs. (Exc. e R. F. I. 444, 458.)

Also Waleran le Teys is directed to hold £25 0s. 9d. of rents in Caerleon and Morgan, and £25 0s. 9d. in one or the other of them, &c., for the support of the two daughters of William de Ferrars, in wardship to the king. (*Ibid.* 458.)

Earl Walter's seal was found, a few years ago, in the ruins of Goderich Castle, and was exhibited at the Rhyl Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1858.

The earl is said to have been twice married; first, to Alicia, daughter of Simon de Montfort (Inq. P. M. II. 278); second, he married, probably in 1242, Margaret, daughter of Robert Quincy, Earl of Winchester, by Hawise, fourth daughter and coheir of Hugh Cyfelioc, Earl of Chester and Lincoln. Margaret was widow of John de Lacy, ob. 22nd July, 1241, in her right Earl of Lincoln, and Constable of Chester, and by her, father of Edward Earl of Lincoln. (Exc. e R. F. I. 390.)

Countess Margaret survived both husbands. 27th November, 1242, Earl Walter had respite for scutage due on the dower of the Countess of Lincoln (ib. I. 390); and 15th March, 1243, the king restored to Earl Walter and Countess Margaret, daughter and heiress of Hawise de Quincy, all the lands held by Hawise in chief, and

inherited by Margaret. On the 12th February, 1246, soon therefore after the earl's death, the king conceded to Margaret certain fees. (Ib. I. 390-6, 448.)

Earl Walter gave to St. Nicholas, at Pembroke, one bovate of land, and a croft to Castlemartin. The deed is witnessed by Gilbert de Valle, seneschal of Pembroke.

VIII.—Anselm Mareschal, Earl Mareschal, and of Pembroke, succeeded to his brother Walter, but, dying within eleven days after him, on the 5th December, 1245, at his castle of Striguil, he probably never assumed the honours, or was enfeoffed of the inheritance, as his sisters are described as heirs to Earl Walter. He was buried at Tintern, and had an obit on the 24th December.

He married Maud, eldest daughter to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, by his first wife, Maud, daughter of the Earl of Essex. She probably died in 1252, when the Abbot of Pershore, as escheator, is directed to take charge of her manor of Awre. (Exc. e R. F. II. 143.)

Anselm was regarded as a youth of great promise, and likely to consolidate the great estates of the family, and restore their power, which had been much weakened during the rapid successions of the late earls, and their frequent encounters with the king. Henry, however, little as he could have expected it, lived to see the last of these Earls of Pembroke, and, notwithstanding the services of the first earl, he must have felt a great relief at the partition of that vast inheritance, and the destruction of that power which, if it had once strengthened his throne, had more than once been arrayed against it.

Upon the death of Earl Anselm, the king stepped in as chief lord, for, 19th June, 1246, Robert, son of Pagan, a tenant in capite under the Mareschals in Netherwent, swore fealty to the king for his lands. (Exc. e R. F. I. 455.)

The nearest male kinsman of the Mareschal family, until his death in 1235, was John Mareschal, already frequently mentioned, and, according to most authorities, son of John, a younger son of Gilbert, the last earl's

great-grandfather. Nicholas indeed makes him nephew to the great earl; but while it is certain that the earl had an elder brother, John, who died, s. p., it is also known that John le Mareschal was son of a John, probably, therefore, belonging to another generation. perhaps, some slight confusion of names and dates in Mareschal's history; but it is certain that he was an active though prudent soldier, who adhered closely to the fortunes of his great kinsman, and remained on good terms with his sons, and on the whole with his sovereign, until his death, about June, 1235. Nearly all that is known of his career will be found concisely stated by Mr. Foss (II. 397). In addition to the evidences there cited, it may be mentioned that, 6th May, 1203, he was ordered to bestow, for the king, certain lands in Normandy, where he was evidently in authority. (R. Norm.I. 91, 92.) In 1211 he witnessed the Earl Mareschal's charter to the monks of Kilkenny, and gave a hyde of land, in Wilts, to the Temple, besides founding the Preceptories of Temple-Rockley and Aslackby. (Tanner.) 5 Henry III., 1220, 21, he is charged scutage upon 174 knight's fees, lately belonging to Hubert de Rye. of Exch. I. 666.) 27th December, 1230, he gave two hundred marks for the custody of the Berkshire lands, and the heirs of Nicholas Carrio, until their full age, a fact which marks the connection between the Pembroke Carews and those of Berkshire, and the early use of the name of Nicholas in that ancient family. (Exc. e R. F. I. 208, 269.) 7th May, 1231, he explains that, on the death of Earl William Mareschal, the sheriff of Northampton took his lands of Norton, which he had received long before by charter from the earl, and he was allowed seizin accordingly. (Ib. I. 214.) 20th November, 1234, he was quitted £100 due on this account, the custody being transferred.

John Mareschal is said to have married Alicia, daughter and coheir of Hubert de Rye, who survived him many years, becoming, in 1263, heir of her sister Isabel, wife of Hugh de Cressi. Other pedigrees make Alicia the daughter and coheir of Robert de Cressi, and Isabel,

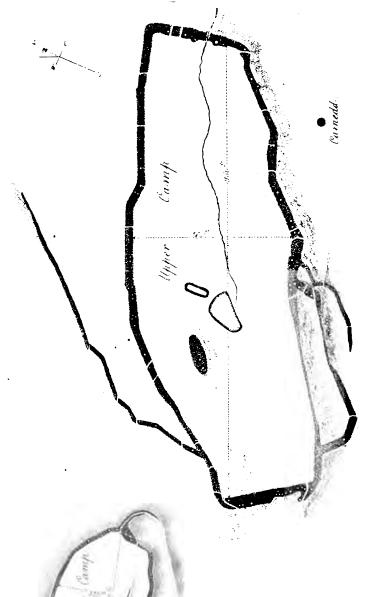
daughter and coheir of Henry de Rye.

John and Alicia Mareschal had two sons, John and William. John, as son of John Mareschal, did homage for Haselburgh, a manor obtained by his father while custos of Shirburn Castle, co. Dorset, when Richard de Haselburgh forfeited it for rebellion, and was decapitated, and hung up by the feet, near Shirburn Park. (Coll. Top. V. 56.) 27th June, 1235, no doubt on his father's death, (Exc. e R. F. I. 284,) John had Cateshall, Norfolk. (Ib. 438.) He died, s. p., 1242, when, 23rd October, the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk was ordered to take his lands; and, 8th November, Margery his widow has Norton, &c. (Ib. 387, 388.) He was succeeded by his brother William, who, 3rd December 1242, had all his brother John's lands held in capite in Norfolk. (Ib. 391.) William seems to have been the person described by Foss, I. 398, as a baron of the Exchequer in 1264. He had Haselburgh and Norton. William was followed by John Mareschal, who died 1283. (Madox, H. of Ex. II. 120.) He was the fourth baron by tenure, and was followed by his son William, born about 1280, and the first baron by writ. He was ward to John de Bohun, who paid 2,500 marks for the wardship, (A. R. O. 47,) and signed, in 1301, the barons' letter to the Pope as John Mareschal of Hingham. On his seal the shield is placed before two batons, as marks of his Irish He bore the gold spurs at the coronation of Edward II., and contested the mareschalship of England with Stephen de Segrave. He was killed before Stirling, 1314, (Milles, 376,) leaving John, his son and heir, and. a daughter. John, the last baron, being sheriff of Beds and Bucks, was charged with certain oppressions. He is styled John Mareschal of Boringdon. He died, s. p. m., leaving a widow, Ela, who remarried Robert Fitz-Pagan, to whom with Ela were assigned certain knights' fees formerly belonging to John le Mareschal, in Norfolk,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hingham was the head of the barony of Rye.

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34.6. Meus J.



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Northampton and Bucks. This was with the consent of Robert Morley, who married Hawise, sister or daughter, and sole heir of the family. The Morleys inherited the barony of Rye, with a large property in Ireland, and in Norfolk; and, 1361, Robert Lord Morley was, or had been, Mareschal of Ireland. (Blomf. I. 30.) The patent of the office was exemplified by Henry IV. (Cal. R. P. 255.)

These Mareschals bore, gules a bend engrailed (or fusilly) or.

The next section in the history of the Pembroke Mareschals will relate the division of their inheritance.

(To be continued.)

## CARN GOCH, CAERMARTHENSHIRE.

No. I.—SURVEY.

I.—NATURAL FEATURES.—The line of hill trends pretty nearly east and west, rising gradually to the westward. On the north it slopes down steeply towards the level lands of the valley; on the south side it is scarped nearly all the way along, but does not rise more than 60 to 100 feet above a small valley lying between it and the Trichrug Hill. On the west it slopes down somewhat less steeply than on the north; but a second smaller hill rises towards the north-west, and is, as it were, an excrescence on the general slope of the northern side. The rocks which form the southern escarpment crop out on the surface of the hill towards the eastern end; and again at the north-western extremity they come out roughly and boldly, though not forming an escarpment properly so called. About 700 feet east from the western end these rocks rise into an oblong conical ridge, and constitute the highest portion of the hill. Carn Goch, in fact, is a mass of Caradoc sandstone, altered by contact with trap, and here developed to an unusual extent. We would direct the attention of the geologist to the Lingulabearing shale on the south as well as on the north side of this rock.

The surface of the hill, and of its sides, where rocks do not actually occur, is covered with fine turf, forming excellent pasture; and this again, during the summer, produces a luxuriant crop of fern, which, when decayed in the winter, and turned into a rich reddish brown, gives, as is supposed, its appellation to this eminence.

A little to the south-east of the conical ridge mentioned above is a shallow pool of water, formed by the natural drainage of the surface; this runs away to the east, and by the action of the water a rude channel, or rather a "river of stones," is formed. All this upper surface of the main hill appears to have been once covered with broken rocks and stones, the result of natural disintegration; and it is this circumstance which probably supplied the constructors of the camp with materials for their walls.

The lower or western hill is scarped towards the south like the larger one, the strata all dipping towards the north. Its surface is a good deal covered with rock, it has not so much turf or pasture ground upon it, and has little if any water.

Between the two hills is a small narrow valley forming the natural way of approach to each. A British path, generally well defined, passes over this hill from the eastern to the western end. It leads through what we believe to have been a British village, and has branches ascending to the main entrances of the camp. May not this be a part of the "Ryknield Street," which is supposed to have passed within a short distance of this line of hills?

II.—The Camps.—These two hills have their summits surrounded by walls of stone, with several out-works, or external unfinished portions. They follow the escarpment and other natural advantages of the ground, but are unconnected with each other. In the valley on the south side of the principal hill-camp, rocks and stones lie

about in the greatest confusion; but there can be made out amongst them numerous remains of inclosures, of no great size, and of small circular habitations, which may mark the site of a British village or settlement.

A road-track leads up from the low country to the eastern extremity of the main hill, and another from the western. A modern road winds round the western base of the smaller hill, from which a track, which is very probably ancient, branches off round the northern side; but the summit of this hill is also gained by a road leading

up through the small valley on its south side.

The ramparts are now in a state of utter ruin; though most probably, judging from the analogy of other camps in Wales, England, Scotland, and especially Ireland, they must once have been erect walls of great thickness. Many large flat stones forming the coverings or the sides of passages, leading through these walls, are known to have been removed by the neighbouring farmers; and, indeed, the whole line of wall has served to construct houses and walls all over the adjacent district.

No remains of weapons, neither arrow-heads, nor spear-heads, nor hammers, nor axes, have been found anywhere within the camps, though some querns have been met with in the valley on the south. It is probable that minute search might lead to the discovery of objects of this nature. Traces of fire have been observed in some large circular rooms, or guard-houses, near the east entrance; but no other sign of occupation has hitherto been met with, beyond the manifest fact of the whole having been erected by the hand of man.

The situation of the camps gives them a commanding view over the whole of the surrounding country, and no enemy could approach from the low lands of the Towy without being discovered for a considerable distance. On the south, however, the high range of the Trichrug Hill would conceal any force coming in this direction; but it is so difficult a line of approach that probably no danger was apprehended from that quarter.

We now proceed to examine the camps separately.

III.—Upper Camp.—The general bearing of the western rampart is about north-west and south-east. At its extremities are two main entrances, between walls extending a short way down the slopes, and defended by circular pits, equivalent to the rifle-pits of modern days. ceeding northwards along this rampart we come to a remarkable stone, 7 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft., now lying flat, and cracked, probably by falling from a vertical position; it seems to have been either the side stone or the covering stone of some passage or chamber. Northwards from this occur several circular holes, and others are found near the northern end of the rampart. The thickness of the heap of debris caused by the falling of the walls is not less than 60 feet, and the height of the heap from the outside, as it now remains, is about 20 feet.

The rampart now turns suddenly to the eastward, following the scarp of the hill, and runs more or less uniformly in that direction for upwards of 2000 feet. This wall seems never to have been very high here, for the mound of debris is hardly anywhere very thick, and if wide it is not high. Entrances and circular holes occur all along it; and in some instances passages leading from the interior of the camp to what must have been circular chambers, perhaps covered over, can still be traced. The general line of defence is much strengthened by rocks towards the north-west end of this rampart. At one place an enormous stone—it cannot be called a boulder, but a large detached stone—lies a few feet outside the rampart on the slope of the hill.

Below this rampart another of considerable length is found, apparently unfinished, for it is open towards the east. It can never have been of much strength. Entrances and circular holes occur along it.

The easternmost rampart is of about the same extent as that towards the west. In it two passages, or sallyports, leading right through, with the side walls partly preserved, are to be found. On each side of its principal entrance large circular chambers, with smaller circular holes, still exist.

The southern rampart runs along a ridge of rocks, and presents a strong line of defence, aided by the natural escarpment of the hill. About the middle occur two passages with upright stones still remaining in them; and, a little to the westward of these, the rampart branches off, and throws out two additional lines of wall lower down the rugged side of the hill. This is the strongest part of all the fortifications; the blocks of stone are of considerable dimensions, and the heaps of rubbish both wide and high. Numerous circular holes occur at various points.

About 700 feet to the north-east of the western rampart is the highest ridge of the hill, and this is covered with an enormous carnedd of stones lying on the natural rock. Some circular holes remain in it; but the summit has lost its original form, partly through the operations of the Ordnance surveyors, partly through the Rebecca rioters, who, in 1843, erected beacons here for raising the country.

A little to the south-east of this point is a pool of water, not very abundant, formed by the drainage of the hill surface. It never could have sufficed for more than a small number of men.

Northward from this pool may be observed an oblong inclosure, or ruined wall, with a single stone of large size lying towards one end of it.

In the valley, not far from the south-east end of the camp, is a solitary carnedd of stones, about 30 feet in diameter. This was opened down to the level of the surface ground, and then occurred a small cist, or excavation in the soil, containing black earth, and traces of cremation.

In many places within the walls of this Upper Camp, and all over the eastern slope of the hill outside the walls, are to be seen green mounds, some circular, some oblong, like graves. Many of these have been opened, but have been found to consist only of earth, unmixed with any traces of interment, or even of occupation.

The total length of this Upper Camp is nearly 2000

feet, and its greatest width about 560 feet. The line of wall is nearly a mile round. The larger measurements

were carefully made with the pedometer.

IV.—Lower Camp.—This is formed on the smaller eminence to the north-west of the larger, or Upper Camp, and consists of a wall running round the crown of the hill. It is nearly oval in form, about 500 feet from west to east, and about 350 feet from north to south.

Towards the west and south-west inner ramparts occur,

but they seem never to have been finished.

The principal entrance is at the eastern end; it winds down the scarp of the hill between two long walls; it is guarded by circular holes, and must have been of considerable strength. It may have served as the usual communication between the two camps.

No signs of permanent occupation, nor any weapons,

have hitherto been discovered in this smaller camp.

We have observed, in Wilde's excellent Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, some remarks on early Irish earthworks, camps, &c., which seem to throw much light on such a monument of early times as Carn Goch; and we therefore quote them at full length.

"Man, in his primitive condition, is a nomadic hunter and fisher, directing his migrations according to the amount and procurability of food. For sustenance and clothing he trusts to the chances of the chase; and for tools and weapons to the timber of the forest, and the flint and stone placed by nature within his reach. Yet even in this state he is essentially a cooking animal, and requires certain appliances consequent thereon. As he advances in civilization, the hunter generally becomes a shepherd, but, to a certain extent, continues a nomad, wandering with his flocks wherever pasture or security invite. Finally, when he has acquired a knowledge of cereal food, he becomes stationary, and not only cultivates the ground, but of necessity encloses it; yet he lives only in part by the sweat of his brow, combining his present with his previous occupation, and occasionally resorting to the chase for amusement as well as sustenance.

"So late as the sixteenth century the native Irish retained their wandering habits, tilling a piece of fertile land in the spring, then retiring with their herds to the booleys, or dairy habitations (generally in mountain districts) in the summer, and moving about where the herbage afforded sustenance to their cattle. They lived, as Spencer described them in the reign of Elizabeth, 'on their milk and white meats' (curds, cheese, with meal, and probably calves' flesh, &c.), and returning in autumn to secure their crops, they remained in community in their forts or entrenched villages during the winter. The remains of thousands of these forts or raths still stud the lowlands of every county in Ireland, notwithstanding the thousands which have been obliterated. They are earthen

enclosures, generally circular, and varying in extent from a few perches to an acre or more, and afforded protection to the inhabitants and their flocks against the ravages of beasts of prey, with which the country then abounded; or against the predatory incursions of hostile tribes, either in war, or during a cattle raid. A breastwork of earth, from 4 to 8 feet high, surrounded the enclosure, being the material ready at hand, and most easily worked, and was probably surmounted by a stake fence. In some a ditch surrounded the earth-Upon some of the plains, as well as the hill-sides, stone fortresses were occasionally erected, where such material abounded loose on the surface, or could be procured in the neighbourhood without quarrying. These duns or stone forts were always put together without cement; but they are more of a military than a domestic nature. In the circle of these forts, both stone and earthen, there existed chambers and galleries, which probably served as granaries, or places of security for the preservation of valuables, and to which the young and weak might resort in case of invasion, or any sudden attack. They were formed by large upright stones covered with flags laid across the top, and in them have been found many relics of past times, and quantities of bones, particularly those of goats and deer. Several of these caves and passages are now open, and they, as well as the forts themselves, are regarded with great veneration by the peasantry,—a fact which has tended in no small degree to their preservation. The population of Ireland when these raths and duns were made, must have been comparatively small; and, owing to the rivalry of petty chieftains, and possibly the incursions of foreigners, men were obliged to herd in small communities for defence against their enemies; yet it may be asserted that in no other country in Europe are the primeval traces of its inhabitants more numerous or better marked than in Ireland.

"There were other habitations called cashels and cahirs, always of stone, whereas raths or lisses were invariably composed of earth, as they exist chiefly on the plains. Duns or hill-fortresses are generally of stone, but occasionally of earth. In some instances we find a tumulus or a cromlech within the circle of the rath, the chieftain or hero having been, in all probability, buried within the fort where he resided, or which he had died in defending, as in the great rath of Dun-Aillinne, near Old Kilcullen, and in the Giant's Ring, in

the vicinity of Belfast.

"Other stone buildings, generally circular, and closed at top by a hiveshaped dome, are not unusual, and are of two kinds, single or aggregated, and either connected by passages or opening into a central chamber similarly constructed. The former are generally oratories; the latter often subter-

ranean, and are to be met with in the county of Kerry in particular.

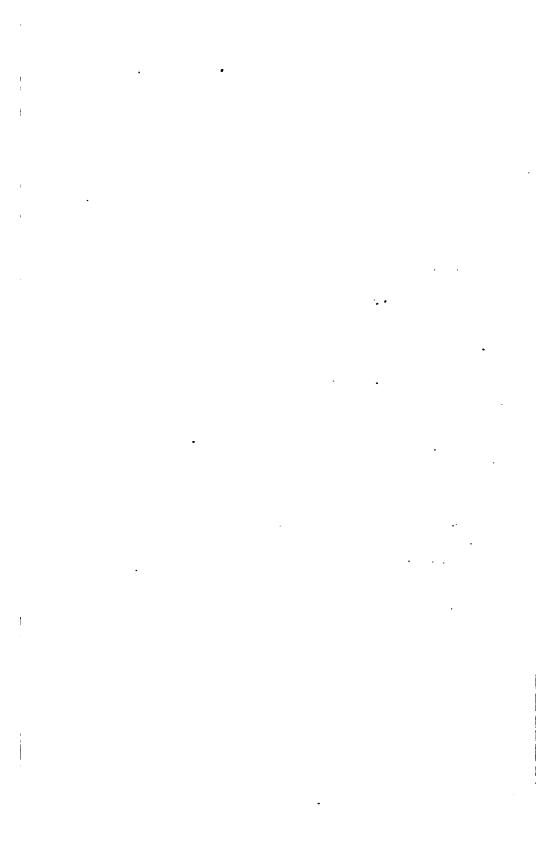
"To each of these forts, called raths, lisses, duns, cahirs, or cashels, were attached names which, with some modifications, have descended to modern times, such as Dun-Ængus, Dun-Dermott, Dun-more, Dun-Gannon, Dun-Boyne, Dun-Lavin, and Dun-Dealgan (now Dundalk); Lis-more and Lis-Towel; Rath-Cormac, Rath-Core, Rath-Croghan, Rath-Owen; Cashel; Cahir-aulin; Cahir-Conlish, &c. Many of these forts give names to townlands, which, with other topographical appellations, have been transmitted to us for, at least, two thousand years. In the ordinary domestic raths resided single families, or chieftains and their clans; and in the more extensive ones, petty kings, chieftains, and their retainers and soldiers. To this latter class belonged the royal raths of Tara, Emania, Croghan, Uisneach, Tailtin, the Grianan of Aileach, Tlachtgha, and the acropolis of Cashel, &c.

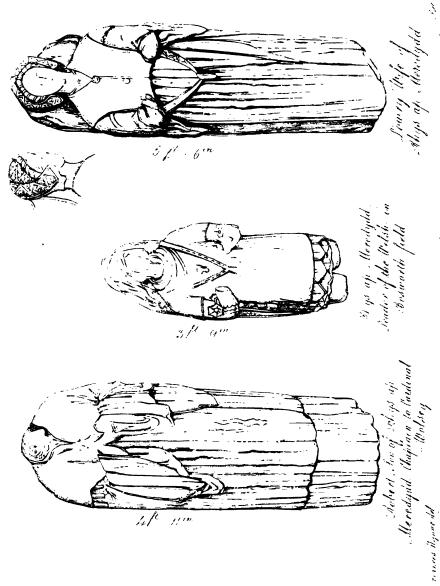
"The people resided in wooden houses, or huts constructed of wattles and tempered clay, within these enclosures; or in small stone habitations where such material abounded. Within and around the great fort of Duv-caher, 'the black caher,' in the large island of Aran, may be seen the whole arrange-

ment of the cabins or stone houses, called Cloghauss, in which the people lived, and some of which have still their roofs perfect. Around these raths must, in process of time, have been cultivated corn and other kinds of vegetable food, which usually succeed, in the order of civilization, to hunting and cattle feeding; and thus, in process of time, by necessity, native ingenuity, or the imitation of foreigners, were introduced various arts which constituted these raths centres of civilization; and around them we still find some of the finest pasture land in Ireland."

V.—To sum up our opinion upon these two extensive and remarkable fortifications, we should say that the smaller, or Lower Camp, was probably erected first; that this had to be enlarged while constructing, as may be inferred from the unfinished lines within the main inclosure; and that, not being found even then sufficiently strong, or capacious, the larger, or Upper Camp, was formed. In this, too, the intention of the original occupiers was not so decidedly fixed, but that several alterations or additions had to be made. The northern outer line, on the lower slope of the hill, may have been intended to accommodate cattle; and in the valley on the south side, concealed from view, numerous inhabitants seem to have been settled, for their inclosures are not military, and betoken lengthened occupation; in fact we would suggest that a British village existed here. Another suggestion has been made to this effect, viz., that unless arms and other implements should be hereafter discovered, it might be inferred that this great camp was meant to be a place of refuge for the population of this district in the event of some hostile invasion, or attack, which, however, never took place, for the walls are of very unequal strength, and indeed seem in several places never to have been finished. It has also been observed that it could hardly have been a place intended for constant habitation, on account of the scarcity of water.

M. M. H. L. J.





Mayes in Aspylly Span Vien

## YSPYTTY IFAN, OR THE HOSPITALLERS IN WALES.

In No. XX. "An Old Member" denounces the practice, which too often has prevailed, of taking down our old ecclesiastical edifices. I join him in the hope that this was not done in the case of the sister churches of Yspytty and Penmachno without adequate necessity. Penmachno was a type in its integrity, both inside and out, of our country churches about three hundred years ago. The belfry was considered worthy of being reproduced, by Mr. G. G. Scott, in the new church of Pentrevoelas. One still more regrets the exigency that required the demolition of the east end of Yspytty Church, for it was the solitary relic of the Hospitallers in Wales. admit of course that the accommodation and comfort of the worshippers are paramount; but still we would point out Derwen, Llanfair juxta Harlech, and especially Llanaber, among several others, as examples of what may be done to preserve our old national churches, without infringing upon modern habits of comfort. I am induced to think that a few historical notices about Yspytty, and its neighbourhood, may not be unacceptable to the Association, from notes which I had collected when a resident in that neighbourhood.

The parish of Yspytty Ifan consists chiefly of a secluded vale, on the borders of the counties of Caernarvon and Denbigh, sheltered by the mountain of bog and brook. It is but little known even by name, but not destitute of interest, and distinguished as being once the scene of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mignynt—Mign, bog; Nant, plural, nentydd, neint, nynt, brook or dingle—so pont, pynt in some parts. Cyn-my, "prime or chief water," says Edward Llwyd. "Called by Ptolemy, Toisovius for Conovius. This river breeds a kind of shells which being impregnated with celestial dew produce pearl."—Canden. The pearl mussel still abounds, but the trade has been almost abandoned. The Cynwy, in ancient times, divided the country into Gwynedd uwch Cynwy, and Gwynedd is Cynwy. In one of the Triads, Gwdion, about a.d. 280, is said to have possessed the former territory.

devotional virtue and active charity, as well as of lawless

violence, rapine, and guilt.

The parish has a population of 892, and is composed of the townships of Tre Brys and Tir Ifan, in the commot of Is Aled, in the county of Denbigh, and also of the township of Eidda, in the commot of Nan Conwy, in the county of Caernarvon. The village is eleven miles from Ffestiniog, and eleven from Llanrwst. The lake Cynwy, or Conway, lies in the mountains six miles west of the village, and gives name to the river and town so called. This river intersects the village and parish, and has a rapid fall to the plain at Bettwsycoed, dividing in its course the counties of Denbigh and Caernarvon.

The name Yspytty Ifan—Hospitium Sancti Ioannis is derived from a hospice, belonging to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which once stood here. Ifan, or Ieuan, is supposed to have been identical with Ioan, that is. Evan and John to have been the same name. I have seen it stated, but on what authority I do not recollect, that a Knight Hospitaller, of the name Ieuan Prys, founded this religious establishment. In that case it may have derived its name from the founder, particularly as we find one township called Tre Brys, and another Tir Ifan; and it may have derived its Latin name, above mentioned, from its dedication to St. John. that may be, it appears that, in the reign of Henry II., Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, Prince of Aber, and Lord of Snowden, bestowed lands' on the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, by the description of the House of the Hospital of Jerusalem at Dolgenwall; and, in the Taxation of Ecclesiastical Possessions in England and Wales, made in 19 Edward I., A.D. 1291, the Hospitallers are returned as holding the property at Dolgenwall. Various privileges and immunities were enjoyed by this house in Wales, including the power of holding free courts for their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This was not the only religious house endowed by this brave and pious prince. The Cistercian abbeys of Conway and Cymmer, the Benedictine priory of Priestholme, and the house of Grey Friars at Llanfaes, were instances of his munificence.

tenants in all their lands there, with many other liberties incident to their existing tenure of knights' service, and of which an Inquisition (10 Edward I., A.D. 1282) found the Knights of St. John in exercise and enjoyment.3

It appears that the prior and brethren, for the purpose of extending the influence of their order, and for the management of their revenues in North Wales, had established a cell, called a preceptory, or commandery, on the borders, situate at Halston, in Shropshire. One of the brethren in turns took his residence at Yspytty. The returns in general surveys, and other documents of the Hospitallers' possessions in Yspytty and Dolgenwall, are accordingly found under the title of the above preceptory of Halston.

In the year 32 Henry VIII., this hospital, with other monastic houses, was dissolved, and its possessions were seized by the crown, and leased from time to time to That portion of them which were situated individuals. at Yspytty were thus described.-

"All that the Rectory of Spitty Dolgenwall, in the Counties of Denbigh and Carnarvon, with all tithes, &c.; and also the Chapel of Penmaghno, in the County of Carnarvon, with all tithes, &c.; and also all that the Lordship and Manor of Spitty, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances in the aforesaid Counties of Denbigh and Carnarvon, being parcel of the said late Commandery; and also all the farms and lands (now known as Tir Ifan and Eidda) with commons, &c."

These two churches, manors and lands, were granted,

3 Among the archives of the Knights of St. John, in the Library at Malta, was found an account of the estates of the order in England, naming among others that of Yspytty, and giving the annual expenditure in bread, beer, meat, wages of the bailiffs, officers, &c. The tenants of this establishment are represented as a contumacious set of men, and refusing to pay their rents. These records have lately been published.

I am indebted for this information to James Wyatt, Esq., agent of the Penrhyn estates; and for the sketches of the tablet and sculptures to Miss Frances Wynne, of Voelas.

It appears that Dolgynwal was the name of the vale subsequently designated Yspytty, from the name of its religious establishment. The original name was perpetuated in that of the bards, Richard Cynwal and William Cynwal, though they lived at or near Penmachno, about 1560-1630. The last was famous for his literary duel with Archdeacon Prys.

in 1560, in fee, by Queen Elizabeth to Ellis Price, of Plas Iolyn, and Thomas Vaughan, of Pantglas, in Yspytty; the former taking Tir Ifan, and other lands; the latter, Eidda. with joint presentation to the above mentioned churches. The revenue was then valued at £39 16s., out of which was payable £10 to a chaplain for celebrating Divine service at Yspytty. The profits of the lessees would be added to the above estimate. After various alienations. the township of Eidda, and portions of Tir Ifan and Penmachno, the two manors, and the advowsons of the two churches, were purchased by the Hon. Colonel Douglas Pennant, M.P., in the year 1856. With characteristic munificence, his first act of ownership was inaugurated by presenting £1000 for building a parsonage, and augmenting the income of Yspytty. He has subsequently contributed large sums towards building new schools and churches in both parishes, with other improvements of general and lasting utility.

Through this parish ran the ancient Chester road, which for ages was the trunk line of this part of the Principality. It passed through Ruthin and Cerrig y drudion to Ffestiniog, and thence to various parts of Caernarvonshire and Merionethshire. Here arms branched off to Bala and Llanrwst. Passing through the village the road ascended the steep Rhiw Sant, and, crossing Blaen Eidda, entered the head of the vale of Penmachno, where an ancient bridge remains; thence, by the slate quarries, through the once much frequented pass of Bwlch carreg y frân, by Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy, to Ffestiniog. At that pass Mr. Pennant traced the Roman road connecting Tommen y mur (Heriri Mons) with Caer Rhun (Conovium). A memorial of this old road still exists upon the sign of Penybont inn, consisting of some verses commencing thus,—

> "Cyn dringo 'r Llech a Chraig y frân, Ffast anian, i Ffestiniog Disgynwch yma," &c.

The protection of travellers being the peculiar province of the Knights of St. John, it was to guard this mountain thoroughfare, and at the same time to afford to the weary traveller rest and refreshment of body and soul, that this hospice was built and endowed, and its precincts made a sanctuary. That this establishment was proverbial for its size, hospitality, and charity, is shown by Davydd Nanmor, a bard who flourished about A.D. 1460, and who employs Yspytty as an illustration of the munificence of a wealthy landowner, whom he celebrates,—

"Ty fal Yspytty Ieuan Fu ei dai o fwyd i wan." St. John's great hospice feeds not more Than Rhys of Tywyn's bounteous store.

But however beneficial this sanctuary may have been in a lawless state of society, when the prevailing rule of action was trecha treisied, it at length became the pest of the surrounding country, by providing an asylum for robbers, and other malefactors. Sir John Wynne, in his History of the House of Gwydir, thus describes the state of the place about the latter end of the fifteenth century:—

"From the town of Conway to Bala, and from Nan Conwy to Denbigh (when wars happened to cease in Hiraethog), there was continually fostered a wasps' nest, which troubled the whole country—I mean a lordship belonging to St. John of Jerusalem, called Yspytty Ifan—a large thing, which had privilege of sanctuary. This peculiar jurisdiction (not governed by the king's laws) became a receptacle for a thousand murderers, who, being safely there warranted by law, made the place thoroughly peopled. No place within 20 miles was safe from their incursions and robberies. In this state stood the hundred of Nan Conwy, when my ancestor, Meredydd ap Ifan, removed his dwelling thither, in the beginning of Henry VII.'s reign."

This chieftain assigned the following satisfactory reason for quitting his paternal home of Gessailgyfarch, in Eifionydd, and making the wilds of Nan Conwy his abode:—

<sup>5</sup> Trecha treisied, gwana gwaedded,—"let the strong enforce, let the weak cry,"—is a proverb handed down from these turbulent times. This pithy Welsh phrase has its parallel in that which Bishop Hebercalls "the ancient Indian maxim," thus versified,—

"The good old rule, the simple plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

"I had rather fight with outlaws and thieves than with my own blood and kin. If I live in my own house in Eifionydd, I must either kill my own kindred, or be killed by them."

The state of Eifionydd may well be deemed insufferable, when a change to a neighbourhood such as that above described should be considered expedient. However, this wise and energetic man, Meredydd ap Ifan, who may be considered the founder of the Gwydir family,

soon reformed the country, and restored security.

He purchased the lease of the castle and friths of Dolwyddelan. This castle had last been the habitation of an outlaw, called Hywel ap Ifan. Owen Glyndwr's wars, which continued during the first fifteen years of the fifteenth century, had so desolated the country that deer grazed in Llanrwst church-yard, and the market-place was green with grass. Before the ravaged country could be restored, the wars of York and Lancaster occurred, when an outlaw, called Davydd ap Siencyn, had full sway over Nan Conwy. Several fruitless expeditions were directed against the stronghold of this freebooter, at Carregygwalch. "All the whole country," says Sir J. Wynne, "was then but a forest, waste of inhabitants, and all overgrown with woods."

What these locusts had left, the canker-worm at Yspytty Ifan was fast consuming, when Meredith ap Ifan removed his residence to the neighbourhood, saying he "should find elbow room in that vast country among the bondmen." He picked out a hundred and forty of the strongest and bravest yeomen he could find, and armed them as bowmen, with sword, dagger, steel cap and armolet coat. Of these he placed one or two in each tenement of his, at convenient distances, for mutual They soon provided themassistance in case of alarm. selves with "chasing-slaves," probably scouts on foot, to watch and harass their adversaries. By the aid of this active tenantry, thus judiciously posted, and devoted to his interests, Meredydd ap Ifan soon subdued the sanctuary of robbers at Yspytty, and gave rest to the troubled land.

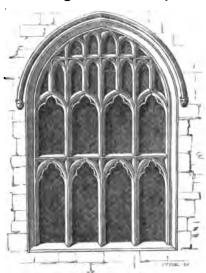
It appears that there were above a hundred of these banditti at that place, well horsed and appointed. They had friends and accomplices to harbour them and their plunder in several of the adjoining counties. It is probable that, upon the expulsion of these villains, they, or some of them, fixed themselves at Dinas Mowddwy, which the depredations of a gang of robbers, called "gwylliaid cochion," soon afterwards made as notorious as Yspytty had been. Their last act of violence was the murder of Baron Owen, when going to the assizes in 1555, which caused their speedy extirpation.

There is not a remnant of the hospice, nor of any of the precincts, now existing. It probably occupied the space to the west of the church, now built over with scattered cottages, but which has been the village common, Within no distant date a piece of the churchyard, which was unusually large, had been abstracted for a garden, by fencing it off right up to the church walls. In the church-yard are three hollow yew trees lying close together, and obviously of extreme age. the village nor church presented any objects of particular interest, except the east gable of the latter, with its perfectly erect and compact masonry, and its large window, which were both evidenly much older than the rest of the church, and have recently been demolished to make way for an entirely new church, I hope not without inexorable necessity.7 This window was Early Perpendicular,

<sup>6</sup> Gnylliad, a prowler, lurker; from gwyll, gloom. The same name is applied by Sir J. Wynne to the followers of Davydd ap Siencyn above named. The word occurs in Job xviii. 9, where in English it is rendered "robber."

7 Having visited Yspytty after writing the above, I am enabled to add a few particulars. In taking down the east window it was found that the cill was composed of freestone sculptured slabs, which had been roughly treated by the workmen. One is 6 feet 3 inches long, and one foot broad. There are two fragments 2 feet long each, and of the same breadth. Embedded in the wall were several freestones belonging to a more ancient structure, among which was a figured stone, of which a sketch is given. This seems to have been a portion of the side of a tomb, the other sides being probably of the same pattern, upon which the narrow slabs, with a continuous border

having two compartments one above the other, each containing four lights, the upper trifoliated, the lower cinquefoiled, containing vertical tracery in the head of the



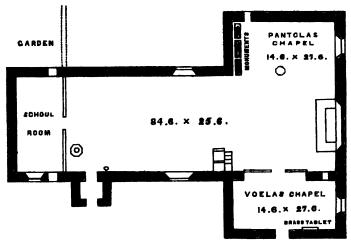
Yspytty Ifan Church, East Window.

window, the label terminating in heads. Some portions of the stained glass remained to the last. The freestone appeared of a singularly durable quality, the chiselling being nearly as sharp as new. It was 9 feet 2 inches broad inside, and 15 feet high to the crown of the arch. The freestone dressings of the other windows had been removed, except the cills, and oak substituted. The church was cruciform, consisting of a nave and two chapels, the roof of the church being prolonged over

inscription, seem to have rested, if they did not form the cover-stone. The inscription is much obliterated. In the east wall, on each side the altar, were small deep recesses with pointed arches, one of which was longer and narrower than the other. In neither was there a perforation at the bottom. There was also a doorway in the portion of old wall next to Voelas Chapel. One large bell had been cracked at the crown, and mended with iron. Around the top, in remarkably neat characters, was inscribed "Henry Vaughan, Esq., Robert Edwards, Esq., Wardens, 1705." The font was plain, and presented no marks worthy of notice.

these by modern alterations, so as to give them the leanto figure. They originally had roofs parallel to the nave,
like Baron Price's chapel at Cerrig y drudion, their
gables being on a line with that of the church. A
portion of the west end of the nave, which was 84½ feet
long by 25½, had been partitioned off for a schoolroom.
The North, or Pantglas Chapel contained the three recumbent figures of Rhys ap Meredydd, his wife, and son,
whose history I shall again have to revert to. The legs
of one figure have been broken off even with the end of
a wall, in order to fit into a spare corner, where the other
two had also been rudely pushed end to end. Most
likely these monuments were removed from a position
near the altar, in order to make room for the pews which
surrounded it.

The South, or Voelas Chapel, which was the place of worship and burial of that ancient house, before the en-



Yspytty Ifan Church, Ground-Plan.

dowment of the church of Pentrevoelas, contained a brass tablet of two plates, inclosed in a frame of freestone, with not inelegant mouldings. The later in date is placed partly over the earlier, and has the following inscription,

—"MAVRICE GETHIN AP ROBERT GETHIN AP;" leaving the ARCH. CAMB., THIRD SERIES, VOL. VI.

words of the earlier tablet to complete the phrase, namely, "ROBERT GETHIN DEPARTED F 14 OF IVNE 1598 . ANN GETHIN DEPARTED  $\frac{E}{Y}$  24 OF MAY 1598 . BOTH INTERRED VNDER THIS STONE BELOW. KERNOGE." Over their united hands are their several family arms. Maurice, son of Robert, son of Robert and Anne, may have placed the later tablet in his lifetime, seeing his death is not recorded. On this is the white lion rampant of the tribe of Marchweithian. On the tablet of Robert and Anne the parents are represented kneeling, with two sons and an infantwith a symbol of its early death—behind the father, and four daughters behind the lady. Around are emblems of mortality, and the sentences,—"LIV TOO DY & DY TO DVW AN RHODDODD DVW AN DYGODD. TRWY IRSY LIVE. CARIAD YWR CWBWL."

Besides the above, there was another chapel of the same name, built for the accommodation of Tir yr Abbat, now Pentrevoelas. This stood within the boundaries of Yspytty, but close to the village of Pentrevoelas, where a yew tree still marks the site. It is probable that the incumbent of Yspytty officiated occasionally; for, in the old terriers of that parish, mention was made of £5 issuing out of the tithes of Tir yr Abbat for the said incumbent. But it had long ago ceased, and the inhabitants of the last named township had recourse to the services of a lay reader, by whom the Liturgy, followed by a homily, was read on Sundays, and who received the above £5 for his services. Sion Davydd Berson, an intelligent maker of wooden clogs, was the last minister. The last survivor of the congregation, an aged woman, named Lowry Roberts, who died in 1847, had amusing reminiscences of the chapel, with its rush covered clay floor. If the homily was too long, the youthful part of the congregation were in the habit of peeling the rushes, upon which the clerk would whisper, "mae'n well i chwi dorri ar y Fendith—mae nhw yn dechreu pilian pabwyr;" whereupon the pastor would pull off his spectacles, turn down the leaf, and pronounce the benediction. He was the preceptor of Twm y Nant, as the latter mentions in his

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Lizabeth Ecoer Ecovards man

calyn. Shariff 1742

John—Sarah, daughter of Edward Owen, of Crogen Iddon

in 1856 sold the same to Colonel Penthe manor of Tir Ifan to Mr. Hope, who

&c., down to Price Jones, Esq., who sold

1628, livery on coming of both Williams, Esq., lst wife. Mar. dau. of Hugh Grace Williams Cadwalader 80 settlement 26th Feb. 1678 Sheriff 1631 and 1664 Wynne (1678)

Thelwall 2nd wife

1724.—Cadwalader Wynce—Jane | Griffith

Blair, and by him sold to Mr. Wynne, of Vocias, about the year 1840, whereby Richard Kenrick, &c. the two estates became reunited in the The Cerniogau estate was sold to Mr.

line of their ancient possessors.

both ws the nected and, more Cam-Andrew Kenrick—Martha, d. and h. of Barrister-at- of Eubule Thelwall, Law of Nantclwyd s upon

ice the from gs have thys, is , Bryn des the whom

Robert -house, Pentrethe old er,8 the

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\* 16th March, 1545.—Grant from Henry VIII. to the brothers Cadwalader ap Maurice and Robert Wyn Gethin ap Maurice, and their heirs, of Voclas, Cerniogau, &c., to hold as of the manor of Hiraithog, in free socage, by fealty only, and not in capite. 8th February, 1546.—Deed of partition between the two brothers, whereby one took Voclas, the other Cerniogau, with their adjacent tenements respectively.

1812.—Charles Griffith Wynne

Wynne-Sarah Hild-Aylesford son of the Earl of

House, Stokesley yard, Manor 1775.—Jane Wynne—Hon. Chas. Finch, 1738.—Watkin Wynne—Jane Clayton

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Creation and descent of the manors of Yspytty Ifan, and also of Hiraithog, or Tir-yr-Abad, now called Pentrevoelas

About 1190, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth endows the Hospital of St. John with lands and privileges. 1291, 19 Edward I.—Taxation of Ecclesiastical possessions, and confirmation of the above endowment. 1560, grant by Elizabeth of Tir Ifan to Dr. Ellis Price, of Plas Iolyn, and of Eidda to Thomas Vaughan, of Pantglas. a privateer. poet, and captain of Merioneth from 1555 LL.D. and M.P. for figure at Yapytty (Chaplain to Cardinal Thomas—Jane, daughter of Sir 7 - 1 Ellis—Elisabeth Webster lfan by Queen Eliz. Thomas Price-Margaret, dau. of About 1450, Meredydd ap Thomas—Era Wyn of Melai ? of Plas Iolyn, Yspytty, was steward of the abbey lands in Hiralthog, granted by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth to the monks of Conway in 1198 Rhys ap Meredydd—Lowry, daughter of Hywel ap Gruffudd Goch, Lord of Rhufoniawg, by whom he had four standard-bearer at Bosworth, 1485. Alabaster effigy at Yspytty | sons and six daughters Grant of Tir Salisbury, of Llyweni **1** Ellis Price-Eirliw, dan. of Sheriff | the house of Pen-Recumbent Robert-Daughter of words 🔿 Wm. Griffith of " ROBER or Llandecwyn of Llanddwywe Sir Owen Pool, of Gydrhon Rhys Lloyd, GETHIN hands a Robert, later tab On this sweithian are reprosented as a four date of mortage LIVE. In CARIAD 18 Besidesame na VNDER 3 Sheriff 1605. Inq. post. mort. 1612 grant from the Queen 1545, grant from Henry of Voelas. 16th March, Cadwalader ap Maurice—Anne Holland VOBLAS life of lands in Hiraithog 21st August, 1501, letters patent appointing him steward for walader. 1612, lease by the Cadwalader. 27th June, 1590.—Robert Wyn ap-Grace, dau. of 1624.—Robert Wyn ap Cad-—Jane 1607.—Cadwalader Wyn= lisbury Sir Roger Sa-Thelwall Maurice ap Rhps ap Meredydd—Anne, daughter of same na: now Per Yspytty a yew tr incumbe CERNIOGAU died 1598. Brass tablet at Yspytty. 16th March, 1545, grant from Henry VIII.\* Sheriff 1667. Brass tablet at Yspytty Robert Wyn Gethin ap Maurice Anne d. and h. | drew Kenrick, who died 1659 Andrew Kenrick - Dorothes, sister and Rebeccs—Richard Kenrick, heir of An-1624.—Robert Gethin= old terric out of the But it h read on services. F wooden of the Roberts. reader, letter read on a services. A wooden of the E Roberts, the chall homily a gation with clerk. Fendith the leaf, preceptor David Myddleton of Gwaundynog Maurice Gethin-Pantglas, sheriff 1598. Blizabeth, 1560 Mostyn, from whom they were purof Mari Anne Anwyl-Sir Thomas Prendergast Yspytty Almshouse Chapel. Founded Tablet in Windsor John Vaughan, sheriff 1628 Captain) d. 1700. Richard Vaughan Catherine Vaughan Henry Vaughan, sheriff 1698 Manor and estate sold to the house of EIDDA. Thomas Vaughanin Eidda, Yspytty founded Almshouse Grant from

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Autobiography, and was possessed of considerable literary attainments. This poor, but good and estimable, man died in 1769, aged 94, and was buried in front of the church porch at Yspytty. Upon his tombstone are the following englynion:—

"Galar, i'r ddaear oer ddu aeth athraw
Fu'n meithrin beirdd Cymru;
Llafurus bu'n llefaru,
Diddan fodd, y dydd a fu.
"Terfynodd, hunodd ryw hyd Sion Davydd
Madawai o hir fywyd;
Ond cofiwn etto cyfyd
O'r ddaear bwys ddiwedd byd."

The annexed pedigree gives some particulars of the former proprietors of Yspytty, incorporating the house of Cerniogau, and its kindred house of Voelas, both descended from the stock of Plas Iolyn; and it shows the descent of the contiguous manors and lands connected therewith. It is derived from various sources; and, though not pretending to perfect accuracy, is far more complete than the Voelas pedigree in Archæologia Cambrensis, January, 1852, p. 69, which itself improves upon Lewis Dwn and Burke.

In the township of Trebrys is Plas Iolyn, once the residence of an honourable and powerful family, from which the most respectable houses in these parts have traced their descent. The hereditary name, Ap Rhys, is preserved in the names of Tre Brys, Carn Brys, Bryn Brys, Hendre Brys, all in the same township, besides the lineal descendants who still bear the name, among whom are the venerable proprietor of Rhiwlas, and Sir Robert Price, of Foxley. Plas Iolyn is now a large farm-house, standing conspicuously on an eminence in front of Pentrevoelas. Some portions of the strong masonry of the old mansion still remain, together with a square tower, the

<sup>8</sup> In a square freestone window of this tower is to be seen the architectural puzzle, mentioned, if I remember right, in the Stones of Venice. The lintel is composed of two stones laid end to end horizontally, and apparently without any support at the middle, the keystone being let into an aperture made for the purpose, out of sight.

cellar of which is excavated in the rock; but, except

these, there are no vestiges of former greatness.

The most distinguished member of this ancient line was Rhys fawr ap Meredith, of Hiraithog. He led the Welsh Highlanders, "Gwyr y wlad uchaf," at Bosworth, A.D. 1485. He was a man of great stature, as his name signifies, and to him, when Sir William Brandon was prostrated by King Richard, was intrusted the British standard of the Rouge Dragon. He left four sons—progenitors, among others, of the neighbouring houses of Voelas, Rhiwlas, Pantglas, Gilar and Cerniogau—and six daughters, whose names and marriages are enumerated in Davies's Display of Heraldry, printed 1616.

Lowry, the wife of Sir Rhys—whose effigy, with that of her husband and her son Robert, are in Yspytty Church—was the daughter of Hywel ap Gryffydd Goch, Lord of Rhufoniog, in the Vale of Clwyd. She was kinswoman to Ifan ap Robert ap Meredydd, father of

Meredydd ap Ifan before mentioned.

9 Hir aithog—long, furzy, says Dr. O. Pugh; from aith, plural, eithyn, gorse, furze. So Crugiath, furzr-covered mount, with its castle. Tommen eithin, an old earthwork in Towyn, is synonymous.

1 In the History of the Crudin Family the following incident is

<sup>1</sup> In the *History of the Gwydir Family* the following incident is recorded, which is here given as being characteristic of a troubled

period, and bearing reference to the house of Plas Iolyn.

The parson of Llanfrothen's wife had fostered one of the children of Ifan ap Robert, whose seat was Cessailgyfarch, in Eifionydd, in envious revenge for which the wife of a hostile neighbour plotted the death of the clergyman. As he went one morning to look after his cattle, three villains, employed for the purpose, killed him. Two of them fled to Chirkland, to the friendly house of the Trevors, for protection. Thither Isan ap Robert followed the llaw-ruddion, or "blood stained hands." As he passed a tavern in Penrhyn Daudraeth, the woman who had brought about the parson's death taunted him in these words,—Hwyr y dial efe ei dadmaeth, "Long will it be ere he avenge his foster." After a persevering search, during which he hid himself by day, and watched by night, he caught the murderers. Fearing they might escape, as a commutation of their punishment might have been claimed for a sum of money, he ordered their heads to be struck off at once, which, being done clumsily, one of the villains said that, had he his executioner's neck under his blade, he could have shown better edge, whereupon Ifan slew them with his own hand. On this mission of revenge he passed by Plas Iolyn, and visited

I can find no history of the sons of Sir Rhys, except two. Maurice, the steward of Conway Abbey, lands in Hiraithog, to whose sons, Cadwaladr and Robert Wyn Gethin, Henry VIII. granted Voelas and Cerniogau, A.D. 1545. The latter's name is on the brass tablet before described.

Another son, Robert, was one of the chaplains of Cardinal Wolsey, and whose effigy has the ecclesiastical habit. He married the daughter of Rhys Lloyd, of Gydrhos, Cerrigydrudion. It is to be presumed that it was after the cardinal's death his chaplain gave this practical proof of the doubts he entertained about one at least of the articles of the Romish Church—the celibacy of the clergy.<sup>2</sup>

Here lived Ellis Price, LL.D., second son of the above mentioned Robert ap Rhys, and still known by the name "Doctor Goch," the red-haired. The only memorial of him preserved in the neighbourhood is a tradition of his being a great oppressor, and having dealings with the evil one, an imputation which an ignorant and superstitious peasantry freely charged upon men of literary pursuits. As Hugh Llwyd, another scholar of that age,

his kinswoman. His grandson, Davydd Llwyd, on visiting the place many years afterwards, found an old woman who remembered Ifan ap Robert going to and returning from Chirkland, and saw Lowry, the wife of Sir Rhys ap Meredith, washing her kinsman's eyes with white wine, being bloodshot with long exposure, and watching the murderers. She moreover said that Ifan ap Robert was the tallest and comeliest gentleman she ever saw, "for, sitting at the fire upon the yspur at Plas Iolyn, the hinder part of his head was to be seen over the yspur, which she never saw to any other man," referring to a settle, or screen with a high back, still a common article of furniture in farm-houses. This was towards the latter part of the fifteenth century.

were equally averse to the enforcement of celibacy. Many of the monks were married men."—Williams's Ancient British Church, p. 230. See Archæologia Cambrensis, July, 1856, p. 262, mentioning a Dean of St. Asaph (temp. Henry VII. and VIII.), one of the Salisbury family, who left a large number of children, who were acknowledged as legitimate. A later correspondent has mentioned

another instance or more.

is reputed to have been in the habit of riding home by a short cut up the falls of the Cynfal, so the Red Doctor's horse is famous for supernatural leaps, some of their footmarks being said to be still observable. There are stepping-stones still known as Sarn Doctor Goch. name appears in suits and other proceedings connected with those tyrannical exactions of the Earl of Leicester which are denounced by Pennant, for resisting which eight gentlemen of the first families in Lleyn were at one time imprisoned in the Tower of London. He married, if I correctly read a MS. pedigree, Eirlliw, daughter of Sir Owen Pool, of Llandeccwyn, probably a clergyman graduate in an university, for to such this title (dominus) was accorded. He was the first named of the gentlemen to whom Queen Elizabeth directed her commission for holding the Royal Eisteddfod at Caerwys, A.D. 1567. He is therein styled, "Our trustye & ryght wel beloved Ellice Pryce, Esquire, Doctor in Cyvill law, & one of our Counsail in our Marches of Wales." He was four times sheriff for Denbighshire, and seven times for Merionethshire, twice for Anglesey, and once for Caernarvonshire. He was also M.P. for Merionethshire from 1555 to 1563. Mr. Pennant, in describing his portrait at Bodysgallen, dated 1605, gives him the following character:—

"A creature of Dudley Earl of Leicester & devoted to all his bad designs. He was the greatest of our knaves in the period in which he lived, the most dreaded oppressor in his neighbourhood & a true sycophant, for a common address of his letters to his patron was, 'O Lord in thee do I put my trust.'"

If he disputed at Cambridge in 1532 (Williams's Biographical Dictionary), the date of his portrait could not refer to the time of taking it, unless he sat for it at an

age little short of 95. It may be a copy.

To Dr. Ellis Price, as before observed, were assigned the hospital, manor and lands of Tir Ifan, in Yspytty; while the manor and lands of Eidda, in the same parish, were given to Thomas Vaughan, of Pantglas, in the same parish. It would seem that the interest of the Earl of Leicester procured for Dr. Price a large share of the church property which, by the dissolution of monasteries, lay at the disposal of the crown. He was lay rector of Llanuwchllyn in 1537, also of the sinecure rectory of Llangwm, out of which he was expelled, and of Llandrillo yn Rhos sinecure.—(Browne Willis's Survey.)

Captain Thomas Price, eldest son of the above, was a distinguished poet from about 1550 to 1610.3 Being of a roving disposition, he fitted out a privateer against the Spaniards, after the defeat of the Spanish Armada; but, when Queen Elizabeth reviewed her army to resist the invasion, he was an officer, at Tilbury, in the land service, A.D. 1588. He states that he, Captain William Myddleton, and Captain Thomas Hoet (query, Huet), were the first who ever smoked tobacco—or rather twisted leaves, or cigars—in the streets of London, and that a crowd followed to witness the novelty. Captain Myddleton was the brother of the distinguished Sir Hugh, and, like his friend Captain Price, exhibited a refined attachment to the Muses, when the service of Bellona, in its rudest form, claimed their vigilant attention. The former's turn of mind suggests some strange contrarieties. command of a privateer in active service he concludes "an elegant version of the Psalms, in the higher kind of

The only poems of his I have seen in print are "Cof am Richard Myddleton, Llywydd Castell Dinbych ai wraig Jane"—"Rhybudd i bawb Gyttun o a'u Gilydd, a pheidio myned i gyfraith," and "Cywydd ffoledd Ieuenctyd." I have seen, in an old MS., an elegy by him upon the death of his son and heir, Cymydd Marwnad Ellis Price, a poem of singular elegance and feeling, and not excelled by any of the kind in the language. He was buried in the same grave as his cousin William Griffith of Penrhyn, near Conway, who was of the same age, and only survived him two days. I cannot resist the intrusion of a few lines descriptive of that circumstance,—

"Ych dau'n wyr echdoe'n aros
Wyneb yn wyneb y nos,
Fel dau angel wehelyth,
Yn gorwedd yn un bedd byth.
Aethoch ych dau forau i fainge
I'r nefoedd wyr yn ifainge,
Yn gyfoedion, ffyddlon ffydd,
I gadw gwyl gyda'u gilydd."

I watch'd you sleep in youthful grace Like kindred angels face to face; A few brief days had pass'd, and then In death's cold bed you met again. I must not wail the early doom That bade you to a brighter home, Dear faithful playmates, fled away To keep eternal holiday.

It consists of 112 lines, and is dated 1610.

Welsh metres, off one of the West India Islands, January 24, 1595."—Williams's Biographical Dictionary. It is stated, in a topographical history, that Captain Price was joined in his expedition by one of the Jones of Castellmarch, in Lleyn, and that they carried on their depredations against the Spaniards after peace was proclaimed, and were called to severe account for it. Mr. Jones, whose residence was near the sea-shore at Abersoch, was subsequently kidnapped by a strange ship, and never afterwards heard of. It appears probable that Prys Griffith, Lord of Penrhyn, was also associated with these expeditions. He fitted out a ship from Beaumaris in 1588, and, after contributing to the defeat of the Armada, he joined Drake and Raleigh in the West Indies; but, accused of continuing a buccaneering course after proclamation of peace, he too was prosecuted by his own government. and so harassed as to be obliged to sell his estates.

Captain Thomas Price and William Myddleton are ranked by the author of *Heraldry Displayed* among those fifteen gentlemen, natives of Denbighshire, "who fostered the literature of Wales during those years of its

A satisfactory confirmation of the circumstance is found in the following extract from a diary of events during the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament:—"Febr. 21, 1645, Mr. Gregory Jones of Castellmarch was taken out of bed by a man of war, & carried abroad to Ireland or somewhere else."—Parry's Royal Visits, p. 410. He was probably the son of Sir William Jones, Justice of the Common Pleas, who married a sister of Bishop Edmund Griffith, of Cefnamwlch, in 1587. Mr. Hugh Griffith, brother of the bishop, also took out letters of marque against the Spaniards. "He was the most valiant captain of any nation then at sea," says Sir J. Wynne, of Gwydir. After an eventful career he perished abroad. There is a history in verse, dated 1570, of Welsh gentlemen who went to the West Indies, in quest of adventure against the Spaniards, by the encouragement of Queen Elizabeth,—"Hanes Bagad o Gymry a aethant yn amser y Frenhines Elisabeth, drwy ei gorchymyn hi, ir Gorllewin India i ddial ac i anrheithio'r Hispaenwyr."—Cambrian Quarterly, II. 356.

In reviewing these periods the reflection occurs that Wales had been so long habituated to scenes of blood and havoc, that, if there must be peace at home, her sons could not be content without indulging their love of fighting abroad, and, if needs must, upon an

element that hitherto had been strange to them.

depression which followed the insurrection of Owen Glyndwr." Of those fifteen no less than five were of the stock of Plas Iolyn, namely, Dr. Ellis Price, the above Thomas Price, his son, Robert Wyn ap Cadwaladr of Voelas, Rhys Wyn of Gilar, and Thomas Wyn ap Richard of Plasnewydd, now Glan Conway, all in the same

vicinity. Thomas Price was sheriff in 1599.

Contiguous to Plas Iolyn, but just within the boundaries of Cerrig y drudion parish is the ancient house of Gilar.<sup>5</sup> About a century after the time of the Red Doctor, and in a similar national emergency to that which caused his evil notoriety, this house produced a character in every respect the opposite of the former, namely, Robert Price, Baron of the Exchequer, and afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, whose name is traditionally revered in the neighbourhood as much as that of Doctor Goch is detested. In 1695 William III. granted to William Bentinck, whom he made Earl of Portland, the townships of Denbigh, Bromfield and Yale, which Elizabeth had before granted, with others, to the Earl of Similar ferments arose, and similar means Leicester. were used to repress them. Baron Price was the protector of his country's interests, as Sir Richard Bulkeley had been in Elizabeth's reign. His famous speech against that grant, in the House of Commons, was published under the name of "Gloria Cambriæ, or the Speech of the bold Briton against the Dutch Prince of Wales." The King revoked the grant. Baron Price died in 1732, aged 79. See Williams's Eminent Welshmen. almshouses at Cerrig y drudion were endowed by him in the year 1716. In the chapel of Cerrig y drudion Church is a handsome marble monument, erected by him to the memory of his mother; also a well carved freestone

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cil, &r—arable recess—either from its retired and sheltered appearance, or from its position under the north side of Garn Brys; for the north or shady side of a hill is called Cilhaul. Cilcain, Cilgwyn, &c., and Pen&r, Tal&r, are compounds of the above syllables. It was formerly considered that a northern aspect was more favourable for the growth of oats than the opposite one, whence the popular phrase, "the shade never goes to the sun to borrow oatmeal."

tablet, with the family arms, in memory of his father, Thomas Price, son of Robert Price. Robert Price was sheriff in 1658. His wife, Elizabeth, was buried at Yspytty, in 1661, according to an inscription in raised characters around the surface of a thick freestone slab, having a handsome moulding sunk around the sides, and which rests upon the ground under the east window.

Over the gateway of Gilar is inscribed TPW. Above is a room, having over the mantelpiece the same arms as those of Pantglas, Voelas, and other kindred branches of the houses of Plas Iolyn, namely, lion, rose, griffin, and a chevron, between three Saracens' heads. The motto is, "Auxilium meum in Domino." This Thomas Price Wynne was sheriff in 1624. Between the above mentioned mansions passed the old Chester road before adverted to, and near Gilar a branch turned off to Bala, at a place called Nant y crogwrn, brook or dingle of execution. This road passed above Galltycelyn, another ancient house in Yspytty. John Edwards, Esq., of this place, was sheriff in 1742.

Pantglas in Eidda, close by the new seat of Voelas, was a large and ancient house of the Vaughans, owners of the North Chapel at Yspytty, and to whose ancestor, Thomas Vaughan, as before mentioned, were assigned the lordship and township of Eidda by Queen Elizabeth, and the presentation jointly with Dr. Ellis Price to the church of Yspytty. The house stood until about the year 1795, when the roof fell in at night, crushing the rafters, and demolishing, among other records of past hospitality, an ancient oak table, nine yards long, which stood in a capacious hall, or neuadd. The above Thomas Vaughan was sheriff for Caernarvonshire in 1598, John Vaughan, in 1628, and Henry Vaughan in 1699. The last occupant of this mansion was Anne, the widow of Sir Thomas Prendergast, who was the heiress of Marl Park, and other estates. After her death Pantglas was sold to the family of Mostyn, from whom it was lately purchased by Colonel Pennant. Captain Richard Vaughan, of this place, founded six almshouses in the village of Yspytty, on the Denbighshire side of the river, for poor aged men. Almshouses for six aged women were also founded by Miss Catherine Vaughan, on the Caernarvonshire side of the river. In the cloisters of the Royal Chapel, at Windsor, is a small brass monument with the following inscription:—

"Neare this place lieth the bodie of Capt. Richard Vaughan of Pantglas in the County of Carnarvon who behaved himself with great courage in the service of King Charles I. of blessed memory in the civil wars, & thereupon lost his eyesight, in recompense thereof he was in July 1663 made one of the poor knights of this place & died the 5<sup>th</sup> day of June 1700 in the 80<sup>th</sup> year of his age."

Adjoining Pantglas lies Dulasau. Of this place was Sir Richard Lloyd, Chief Justice of one of the Welsh circuits, who died in 1676. Humphrey Lloyd, Bishop of Bangor, who died in 1688, was of this family.<sup>6</sup>

The parish consists of upland farms and pastures, bordering upon extensive mountain commons. Sheep of the true mountain breed form a safe and profitable portion of the farmer's stock. They have full range over the farms from October to spring sowing, forbidding, of course, a scientific rotation of crops, and the cultivation of clover, except in well-closed fields. But a favourable change has lately been observed, and the cultivation of turnips prevails. In this parish are several rocks of gray limestone, which formerly were thus applied to agriculture: a large heap of turf and sods was formed in the shape of a kiln, and filled with the stone, which was burnt in the usual manner, until the whole mass subsided into a compost.

Y Gylchedd is a hill, so called from its hollow or concave form on its north side. On its sides are marks of

<sup>6</sup> Close by lies the ancient house of Plasnewydd, now called Glan Conway. An old local tradition states that the daughter of Doctor Goch was married to the proprietor of this house, and that when the latter was slain by a kinsman of his, the Red Doctor lamented,—"I have lost my son-in-law, and hanged my nephew;"—an expression that may with more credibility be ascribed to him, seeing he was fourteen times high sheriff for the neighbouring counties.

cultivation, upon spots long abandoned to heath and wild These are not uncommon, and in Scotland are called elf-furrows. The grain grown was, probably, black rye, and it may be supposed that portions at least of our native forests at that time sheltered these high localities. In the year 1848 a landslip of two acres of peat on this hill denuded the stumps of large trees, which had grown where a stunted shrub is not seen now. It is remarkable that the above indications of industry in elevated places are, in this country, universally ascribed to the Irish, just as the remains of human abodes, formerly so common on hills and wastes, were called Cytiau Gwyddelod. If the word means simply sylvan or woodranger, some primitive race of inhabitants might have been so denominated. But if the word Gwyddel is to be exclusively applied to the Irish, according to modern usage, these marks of ancient culture might have been the result of the occupation of North Wales by the Irish Picts, Gwyddyl Fichti; who, if the chronicles are true, were not finally expelled before A.D. 480. It is possible, on this assumption, that the invaders, as the Welsh pressed them, retired into the hills and wastes, where the ruined round huts and furrowed ground remained to attest former occupation.

On the top of the hill is a well known landmark, called Carnedd y Filiast—"cairn of the greyhound bitch." Another occurs not many miles off. It is remarkable that several ancient monuments were similarly distinguished. Lletty y Filiast, Llech y Filiast, Gwâl y Filiast, Llech yr Ast, are names occurring in localities far separated. The suggestion, that these landmarks on barren hills were in allusion to the British Ceres, under the symbol of a greyhound, does not appear more satisfactory than the solution of Sarn Helen. Diana would, with more propriety, have been venerated under the above figure, whose worship also prevailed as the deity of the forest.—(Hanes Crefydd yn Nhymry, p. 21.)

J. E.

# PLOABENNEC, BRITANNY.—ROUND TOWERS.

THE following note of a Breton building, similar to the Round Towers of Ireland, will interest members of our Association who are fond of comparative archæology:—

"About a quarter of a league from the village of Kersaint-Plabennec," says M. de Fréminville, in his Antiquités du Finis-tère, Part II., "near the picturesque ruins of the chapel of Nôtre Dame de Lesquelen, are the remains of a very ancient, strong and isolated tower, called 'Chastel St. Tenenan.' There still exist considerable remains of dilapidated masonry, a partition wall in the middle, a well, and the entrance of a subterranean vault. All this lies on the summit of a 'keep,' or artificial mound of a conical form, which was, and still is, in great part faced with worked stone, a particularity that we have never seen in any other fortifications of this kind. This 'keep' is surrounded by a ditch, and is 500 feet in circumference at its base, with a perpendicular height of 35 feet.

"The tradition of the country attributes the erection of the fortress to St. Tenenan, who died in 635, and agrees exactly with what Albert Legrand tells us in his history of that saint."

Before giving extracts from A. Legrand, we will introduce a short notice of our own visit to this curious mound, some twenty years ago. The facing, of worked stone without cement, is in very good preservation, and it was not without difficulty that we climbed to the top, with the help of the brambles and briars which have contrived to root themselves between the joints of the stones, however close. The form of the mound is that of a truncated cone; its circumference is quite that given by M. de Fréminville; but the height, from the bottom of the ditch, which is deep and still perfect, appeared to us to exceed 35 feet. Slopes, however, are very deceptive in their perpendicular elevation. The summit is entirely covered with stones, the rubbish of the structure which anciently crowned it; but these are so overgrown with bushes and brambles that we found it impossible to discover either the well, or the entrance of the vault, or even to look for any indices which might determine the date of the edifice. The facing is wonderfully constructed. According to the description given by Dr. Petrie of the "appareil" of some of the primitive towers and churches in Ireland, one would hesitate saying that this casing is not of the same period as the mound itself. Even without the former, the latter is an extraordinary erection. The form of the mound would seem to require that the edifice which crowned it, whether tower or fort, should have been circular, and of a certain elevation. All this might probably be ascertained by cutting down the bushes and brambles, and searching the ruins; but who is to do this? We might have examined more minutely; but we had been cautioned against the little red adders, which are ugly customers in the month of August. The fortress must have been very strong for those days, and, with the well of water, and a vault of provisions, a very few men might have held their own against the world.

The mound rises on an elevated table-land, and commands a great extent of country, with a considerable,

though rather distant, line of sea-coast.

The only remains of the chapel of Lesquelen, which nearly abuts on the ditch of the mound, is a pretty steeple

of the sixteenth or seventeeth century.

Albert Legrand and some of his followers describe St. Tenenan as having been the son of an Irish prince, called Tinidor; whilst Dom Lobineau, the more correct historian, affirms that their own "piéces justificatives" prove him to have been a Briton. This, however, would in nowise invalidate the origin of the round tower.

After narrating the disembarkation of St. Tenenan, with his companion missionaries, Kenan and Senan, at the Chateau de la Joyeuse Garde—the dwelling-place of Lancelot du Lac, and the fair Yseult, says M. de Fréminville—and the erection of the churches of La Forêt and Ploabennec, Albert Legrand, the Isaac Walton of hagiographers, says:—

"St. Tenenan, with his priests and clerks, celebrated Divine service in these churches—Ilis Gonelet Forest and Plaobennec—and preached to the people with great fruit and edification. Not content with this, he provided also for the preservation of their persons and property, as well as watched over their instruction in

matters of religion. Besides the barricades which had been erected in the avenues of the forest, he raised, by force of hands, a great mound, or heap of earth, ample and spacious, and surrounded with large and deep ditches (we should add "dry"). Thereon he erected a small oratory, where he remained with his priests, gathered thither their furniture and goods, and, in case of need, when pressed by the enemy, received them as in a strong town: there was performed Divine service, assemblies of the people were held, and exhortations made. Justice was administered there, and the saint himself gave his lessons, and instructed the young, rendering this place as famous as a regularly governed town. It was named Les-quelen, on account of the two principal functions exercised there—the instruction of children, and the administration of justice.

"The barbarians continuing their courses and ravages, pillaged and burnt many churches in the Léonnais, which St. Tenenan perceiving, he redoubled his prayers, exhorted the people to penitence and amendment of life, and, providing for their defence and preservation, he appointed a chief man of their troop as their captain, pronounced a benediction on his arms, and delivered them to him—recommending him to erect a LITTLE ROUND TOWER near the church of Ploabennec, wherein to deposit the silver plate and treasure of the same church, and protect them against the sacrilegious hands of the barbarians, should they wish to pillage the said church. This captain, obedient to the counsel of the saint, undertook the building, and laboured with so much diligence that in a few days he completed it. Meanwhile the alarm spreads in all directions; the barbarians approach; St. Tenenan hastily carries the sacred vessels into the tower, wherein the captain enters boldly and alone, armed with his usual weapons. resolved to defend it at the cost of his blood. Not having had time, on account of the sudden and unexpected irruption of the barbarians, to hang the door on its hinges, he blocked it up on the inside with the half of a cart wheel which lay at hand, and barricaded himself as he best might. Scarcely had he effected this ere the army of the barbarians invested the church. St. Tenenan, with his priests, Kenan, Armen and Senan, the clerk, Glanmeus, and all the people, had shut themselves up in the fort of Les-quelen, praying to God incessantly, and invoking his They had placed certain forlorn sentinels—'sentinelles perdues'-here and there, without the fort, at the barricades, and in the forest, to give them warning of what passed."

They are all miraculously delivered, and the army of the barbarians put to flight by an aërial host, and an angelic chief.

In his valuable notes to the last edition of Albert Legrand, M. Kerdanet refers to a seignorial roll of the year 1618, in which appears the following entry:-

"An ancient tower, called 'LA TOUR DU DAMAUNY,' built in front of the great door of the said church—Ploabennec."

M. K. suggests that this might have been the name of the

captain.

We scarcely need observe that the purposes to which these towers were applied would seem to correspond, as nearly as possible, to those suggested by Dr. Petrie, with the exception of the belfry. Divine service was celebrated there—the sacred vessels and treasures were deposited there, as in a donjon, or castle—the priests and their companions took refuge there in case of attack-add to this the commanding position of the mound, or "Castel St. Tenenan," with the state of the country at this period, and there seems every reason to believe that the "castel" served as a watch-tower and signal-station, in the manner pointed out by Dr. Petrie.

There are some other curious particulars in the life of St. Tenenan, and especially the miraculous legend of the field of Celtic stones—upwards of six hundred—discovered by M. de Fréminville near Ploabennec, now Plabennec. But getting into Britanny and opening Albert Legrand's Vies des Saints are much alike; you will never get out of the one, nor close the other.

R. PERROTT.

### EARLY INSCRIBED STONES OF WALES.

THE SAGRANUS STONE AT ST. DOGMAEL'S, PEMBROKESHIRE. (Read at Cardigan.)

WITHIN the precincts of the abbey of St. Dogmael's, near Cardigan, is preserved a long narrow slab of porphyritic greenstone, such as is found on the ridge of the Preseleu Hills, semi-columnar in form, and rhomboidal in section. It is about 7 feet in length, tapering upwards from rather more than 12 to 9 inches in breadth, with an average thickness of about 7 inches. The surfaces are all smooth, without any lichen adhering to them; and, did not other stones of this kind from the same hills offer the same appearance, it might be supposed to have been once artificially polished. Such, however, is not the case; this peculiar kind of igneous rock does not decompose readily; its greenish base, and the dull white, squarish crystals with which it is filled, resist the effects of weather and of vegetation with remarkable pertinacity. The stone in question is probably in as sound condition, with certain exceptions, as when it was first brought down from its native hills.

Stones of this kind are prized all over Pembrokeshire, from the circumstance of their peculiar form and hardness making them useful as gate-posts; every farmer is glad to get them from Preseleu; and the very stone of which we are now treating shows, by two holes drilled into its surface, that it has been made to do this piece of agricultural duty in worse times, archæologically

speaking, than the present.

Not only as a gate-post, however, but also as a bridge, has it been made serviceable to the daily wants of generations now dead and gone; for it was so used over a brook not far from its present locality, and had acquired a sort of preternatural reputation, from the belief of the neighbourhood that a white lady glided over it constantly at the witching hour of midnight. It was fortunate, perhaps, that this should have been the case, for the superstitious feeling of the neighbours not only tended to preserve it from injury,—no man nor woman touched it willingly after dark,—but this very tradition, added to its peculiar form, probably led to its ultimate rescue.

A gentleman who is the present owner of the property on which St. Dogmael's Abbey stands, the Rev. H. J. Vincent, vicar of that parish, found the stone covered with a thick coat of whitewash, in a wall adjoining his house, where it was perhaps placed after its removal from the brook. When the wall was taken down, with the view of effecting some improvements, the stone fell, and was

unfortunately broken in two. It was then carefully conveyed to the spot where it now rests. Before it fell its inscribed face and edge were uninjured. Luckily they had been turned downwards by whoever placed it, in ignorance of its value, across the brook.

The inscription had been previously known; for that exact observer, Edward Lhwyd, had drawn the lettered surface most carefully, and his original sketch still exists. He had also remarked some of the notches on its edge, and had recorded a few in his drawing, but had not said anything about them in any of his notes. His sketch was not known to exist until 1859, when it was found, by the writer of this paper, at Oxford. But several years previously the writer had ascertained that one edge of the stone was covered with oghamic characters, such as he had discovered at the same period on stones in other parts of the same district, and he pointed them out to Mr. Vincent, who at once perceived their archæological value. For several subsequent years he took careful drawings and rubbings of this stone, communicating them at the same time to Professor Graves, of Trinity College, Dublin, and to Mr. Westwood. The former, who has made the study of Oghams almost his own peculiar science, by his skill in working out the occult alphabet,1 (well known to readers of the Archæologia

<sup>1</sup> Professor Graves's Ogham Alphabet. Archæologia Cambrensis, Third Series, ii. p. 79.



Cambrensis, from a review of his learned memoir on that subject,) at once read off these Oghamic strokes, according to the system previously arranged from Irish monuments of the same description, and found that it corresponded very nearly with the inscription on the face of the stone.

We say very nearly, for one important mark, equivalent to a, was apparently wanting; if that were found, the professor's alphabet and theory would be completely correct. He therefore advised the writer to re-examine the stone more minutely; this was done, and the professor's conjecture was found to be correct: but more of this hereafter. Professor Graves then declared this stone to be the equivalent of the famous Rosetta stone of the Egyptian hieroglyphic discoveries, because it contained the same inscription in two distinct characters, one of the Romano-British type, the other of that occult Oghamic class which has been so much controverted, so much theorized upon, and so little understood. All that remained was to ascertain who might have been the personage commemorated, and what the date of his existence, as well as the palæographic character of the inscription.

The Rev. Robert Williams, M.A., of Rhydycroesau, on being appealed to, immediately observed (as Lhwyd had also done) that CVNOTAMVS was the proper Latinized equivalent of CVNEDDAF, the British king, who is said to have flourished in the fourth century; but nothing

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Robert Williams, of Rhydycroesau, assigns to Cunedda Wledig the date of A.D. 340—A.D. 389. Professor Rees, on the other hand, treating of the events that occurred in Britain towards the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries, says as follows:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;According to the Welsh accounts, one of the most distinguished chieftains of this time was Cunedda Wledig. His territory is said to have been in the north, an expression used indefinitely for any part of the tract reaching from the Humber to the Clyde; the particular district is not mentioned, but owing to the remoteness of the country from Wales it cannot be expected that the tradition should be precise. In right of his mother, Gwawl, Cunedda was also entitled to the headship of the clan of Cocl Godebog in the south; Ceneu and Mor, the proper representatives of that tribe, being ecclesiastics.\* Soon after the departure of Maximus to the continent, a people, called Gwyddyl Ffichti, or Irish Picts, to distinguish them the Picts of the north,

could be then, nor has been since, elicited concerning SAGRANVS, here mentioned. If we are to assume that the Cunotamus here mentioned is really the Cunedda of early Welsh History, and if we are to consider the dates assigned above as tolerably correct, we can then evidently fix a period before which this stone could not have been sculptured, viz., the end of the fourth century. But the evidence we possess is not sufficiently weighty, the authenticity of its basis is not sufficiently proved, to allow of our assenting to it implicitly. We must call in the aid of the palæographer to obtain other means of approximation. Mr. Westwood, on being consulted as to the apparent date of this inscription, judging from its palæographic characteristics, has given the following opinion:-

"The Latin portion of the Sagranus inscription offers

landed on the western coasts of Britain,\* and occupied the whole of North Wales, as well as the Dimetian counties † of South Wales. At a later time, the northern Picts made one of their irruptions into the country of their more civilized neighbours; and Cunedda, being unable to resist them, was forced to seek an asylum to the southward. The probability is that he retired to his maternal kindred. He was the father of a numerous family; and his sons, being reduced to the condition of adventurers, undertook the enterprise of delivering Wales from the Irish marauders. In this it is presumed they were assisted by the rightful inhabitants; and they were so far successful that they recovered a great part of South Wales, and the whole of North Wales, except Anglesey and some portions of Denbighshire. The country recovered was divided between them, and they became the founders of so many clans which gave names to the districts that they occupied, some of which names are retained to this day. Thus Ceredig had Ceredigion, comprising the present county of Cardigan with a great part of Carmarthenshire; the word, Ceredigion, being the plural of Ceredig, and meaning his followers. Arwysil had Arwystli, or the western part of Montgomeryshire. Dunod had Dunodig, or the northern part of Merioneth with part of Carnarvonshire. Edeyrn had Edeyrnion, and Mael had Dinmael, both in the eastern part of Merioneth. Coel had Coeleion, and Dogfael had Dogfeilin, both in Denbighshire. Rhufon had Rhufoniog, in Denbigh and Carnaryonshires. Einion had Caereinion in Montgomery, and Oswal had Osweilin on the borders of Shropshire. Tibion, the eldest son of Cunedda, died in the Isle of Man; but his son, Meirion, was one of these adventurers, and had Cantref Meirion. The date which may be assigned to this expulsion of the Irish is the period between A.D. 420 and 430.1

In this statement the Welsh authorities are confirmed by the Irish historians, who relate that an invasion of Britain, on an extensive and formidable scale, took place towards the close of the fourth century under the auspices of a king of Ireland, called Nial of the Nine Hostages.—Moore's History of Ireland, Chap. VII."

<sup>†</sup> The present counties of Cardigan, Pembroke, and Carmarthen. † The Silurian Achau y Saint, and Nennius.

but few peculiarities. It is entirely composed of Roman letters of a rather narrow form, varying in height, some in the upper line being nearly six inches high; those forming the word FILI in their much narrower form, in the bars of the F appearing on the left side of the upright stroke, in the upper bar being rather oblique, with the end elevated, and in the upright stroke of the L elevated a little above the adjoining letters, approach the rustic form. The first letter, S, is ill formed, with the lower half larger than the upper, agreeing in this respect with the initial S in the Paulinus inscription, published in this Journal, ii., Third Series, p. 249. The third letter, G, formed of a semicircle, with a short oblique tail, scarcely extending below the line; and the M in the second line, with the first and last strokes splaying outwards, are the only ones which offer any peculiarity, and in these respects they agree with many of the oldest Roman monuments.

"Hence, were we not guided by the formula, the comparative rudeness of the letters, and the fact of the inscription being carved lengthwise along the stone, we might refer this inscription to the Roman period, so complete is the absence of those minuscule forms of letters which occur in most of the Welsh inscriptions, and of which an instance may be seen in the Euolenus stone, ante, p. 56, and which indicate a later period, when, as in most of the Glamorganshire stones, scarcely any of the letters retained the capital Roman form. Under these circumstances I think we are warranted in assigning a date to the present inscription not long after the departure of the Romans, whilst the writing still remained unmodified by a communion either with the Irish or Anglo-Saxon scribes.

"J. O. WESTWOOD.

"Oxford, February, 1860."

Mr. Westwood, on examining the inscription itself, has thus given it as his opinion that the palæographical character of the letters is such as corresponds to the period when the British prince mentioned above is supposed to have flourished. We think, therefore, that the full value

of these facts will not fail of being appreciated. We have here a stone which we may, upon palæographical grounds, consider of the fourth or fifth century; and it bears names which may be assigned to British princes, who are said to have flourished at that very period. The Romano-British inscription on its face is translated on its edge into the occult Oghamic alphabet, with a few literal variations such as would be natural for an Irish translator to make. The Oghams, therefore, are either contemporaneous with the inscription, or not long posterior to it; and thus may both be pretty fairly considered as fixed in date between the extreme limits of a century, viz., A.D. 400—A.D. 500.

We now proceed to explain the inscriptions themselves. That in Romano-British capitals, all easily decipherable, runs thus:—

# SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI

That in Oghamic characters, read from the bottom upwards, and from left to right, (for such is Professor Graves's theory,) runs thus;—

### SAGRAMNI MAQI CVNATAMI

It was to be expected that an Irish translator would, according to the analogy of inscriptions in his own country, use the word MAQ or MAC (the equivalent of the Cymric MAB) for the Latin FILIVS,—and so we find it.

A various reading is occasioned by the introduction of M in the first word, and by the substitution of A for O in the last. These are not philological difficulties; the analogies of the Erse and the Cymric tongues easily account for them. The only real difficulty lay in the absence of the Oghamic mark for A between those standing for M and Q. This occurred just at the point where a crack had unfortunately taken place. To most observers it would have seemed as if this mark did not exist; but, by following up the hint given by Professor Graves, and by use of a magnifying glass, the existence of a small circular depression on the edge—cut in twain by the crack—was satisfactorily established. All the other characters



were so distinct as to admit of no doubt. The true reading of Professor Graves's alphabet was verified; and not only so, but the date of a specific example was closely

approximated to.

We need not stop to point out the archæological interest which this stone possesses; it seems to be one of the earliest in Wales of the Romano-British type; and its probable date will henceforth help us in conjecturing the age of other inscriptions, in which the same palæo-

graphic characteristics are met with.

It remains only to add that, with the concurrence of our Association, the Rev. H. J. Vincent, who is one of our Local Secretaries for Pembrokeshire, is about to take steps for removing the stone, either to the interior of the parish church, or to some other place where it will be more certainly preserved than it now can be,—reclining, as it does, amid mantling ivy—"half embraced and half retiring"—against a mossy, fern-grown bank in his own beautiful garden.

H. L. J.

# CELTIC ARMS AND ORNAMENTS FOUND AT PLONEOUR, BRITANNY.

A LABOURER, in 1846, while bringing some waste land into cultivation, near the village of Kernivin, in the commune of Ploneour, near Pont l'Abbé, discovered several Celtic arms and ornaments of some interest, and which appear to have been originally inclosed in a vase, the fragments of which were found upon the spot.

The discovery consisted of the following objects:—

I.—Two bronze ornaments, which I think are bracelets, or else some kind of ornament for the leg. Each is formed of three rings, each  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, from which are suspended circular ornaments  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad, furnished with a circular edging, and a small central

knob. The rings are ornamented with lines, so as to present a tolerable resemblance to a serpent. The accompanying illustration will give a very fair notion of this singular article, which still retains traces of gilding. The

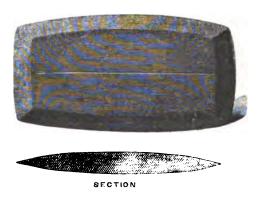


projection seen in one of the rings is caused by some lead solder, used to repair a fracture.

II.—A bronze hatchet (hache), in weight  $11\frac{1}{2}$  oz., 7 inches long, and on an average thickness of 1 inch, the breadth of the cutting edge being  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The middle is furnished with a ring, and on each side, commencing from the middle to the lower extremities, a large flat groove, by means of which the instrument was affixed to the handle.

III.—Two hatchets similar to the preceding, but broken nearly on a level with the ring with which they are furnished. It is remarkable that arms broken in this manner are frequently found under dolmens, and other Celtic sepulchral places. If the circumstance of their being thus found is not the result of accident, but of an established custom, as some pretend to assert, we can only say that this custom was by no means uniformly observed, as arms perfectly entire are frequently found in such situations. Implements of this class are not unfrequently found in Finistère, but they are by no means so common as the hollow bronze articles usually known by the name of coin.

IV.—A bronze instrument, the use of which it is not easy to determine. I have never seen or heard of any similar to it. The accompanying cut gives a representa-



tion of it of the actual size. Its form is rectangular, the longer sides being slightly convex. Its dimensions are—length,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, breadth,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches, thickness at the centre, 3-16ths of an inch, whence it gradually lessens towards the extreme edges. One of these edges, which is also convex, and has received two notches, cuts as keenly as a sharp steel blade, although the instrument has been buried for ages, and is exactly in the same condition in which it was found. I have myself cut several sheets of paper with it as easily as with a razor.

V.—A fragment of a bronze socket (douille), with an exterior diameter of two centimetres at its base. It is broken on a level with the hole where a handle had been fixed. It appears to me to have been a portion of a poignard, or dagger.

One peculiarity of these instruments should not be omitted, namely, the bright traces of gilding they still exhibit—an unusual circumstance in bronze articles of

this kind.

Ever since 1846 these articles were deposited in a garret at Pont l'Abbé, and left there totally disregarded, until they fell by accident, a few months ago, into the hands of M. Dorn (Juge du Tribunal), of Quimper, in whose collection they are now carefully preserved, so that, although their discovery took place so many years ago, this is the first occasion on which they have been introduced to the notice of archæologists. Nor is this the first time that the commune of Ploneour has been the scene of important discoveries. In 1839 a peasant found two hundred pieces of Gaulish money, in electrum, the types of which have since been published in various numismatic works. Since then I have had an opportunity myself of examining two good specimens of the same class, and coming from the same district, one of which is in excellent preservation, and remarkable as a work of art.

R. G. LE MEN.

Quimper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It may be as well to notice that there are three communes of this name in Finistère, namely, Ploneour Trez, near Lesneven, Ploneour Menez, near Morlaix, and the one alluded to in this notice.

# Obituary.

# THE REV. JOHN MONTGOMERY TRAHERNE, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

WE are sorry to have to record the decease of one of our earliest and most distinguished Members, the Rev. JOHN MONTGOMERY TRAHERNE. For some time past his health had been gradually declining, and at length he has been taken away to his rest, at the age of 75. In him we have all lost a most learned, laborious, and wellwishing coadjutor. He was one of the earliest Members of our Association; contributed to our Transactions; attended most of our Meetings; took an active personal interest in our proceedings—and himself, single-handed, persuaded more: Members to join our ranks than almost any other amongst us. His knowledge of Archæology in general, but especially of Welsh records and remains of all kinds, was most extensive and accurate. He deserved to stand by the side of our other lost friend—and his— HENRY HEY KNIGHT. Those two were worthies whom we cannot replace! Large as are the collections they have left behind, an immense amount of the most minute and accurate archæological knowledge has perished with them. Ripe as were their years, they have both been called away prematurely for our common cause. One was to have written a biographical memoir of the other: who shall now undertake the melancholy task of commemorating the literary and antiquarian lives of both? It may be hard—but we hope that some one amongst us, the survivors, will be encouraged to attempt it.

# Cambrian Archaealagical Assariatiau,

# 1859.

EXPENDITURE AND RECEIPTS.

OF

STATEMENT

Expenditure.	Receipts.	
4 · 6 · 6 · 6 · 6 · 6 · 6 · 6 · 6 · 6 ·	4 ch	8. D.
Printing, &c	Balance in Treasurer's hands, 1st	
Engraving 76 9 11	76 9 11 January, 1859 45 8 9	ල න
	9 13 3 Subscriptions, &c., received from	
Balance in Treasurer's hands, 1st	1st January, 1859, up to 1st	
January, 1860 48 13 11	January, 1860 276 13 7	13 7
£322 2 4	£322 2 4	2 4

JOSEPH JOSEPH, Treasurer.

Audited 4th January, 1860.

JOHN POWELL,

W. L. BANKS,

Auditors for 1859.

# Correspondence.

## ON THE PRESERVATION OF EARLY AND PRE-HISTORIC REMAINS.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—It is a very gratifying thing to the student of antiquities to observe the general interest which is now more or less felt in the preservation of ancient national monuments; and it is one of the healthiest signs of the improved moral and intellectual tone of our national character. We boast that we are less given to the exclusive pursuit of personal interests, less abandoned to the gratification of common passions, less sordid, less worldly, than we used to be. We no longer live so much in the present; we are more anxious for the future; but no people, no nation, can prepare itself for the futureno nation can make itself worthy even of the present-without studying, honouring, and preserving its records and monuments of the The nation that has no past honour, no antecedent glory, no time-cherished recollections of ancient days, cannot have any wellgrounded confidence in itself, nor give any sure pledges of hope for its future fame and prosperity. The love of antiquities,—the study of Archæology,—has been one of the causes and also one of the effects of this good national spirit. We know that we have records of ancient days, and monuments of all kinds to illustrate and to prove these records; we honour them; we are proud of them; we study them; we interrogate them; we elicit from the mouldering stone—from the rusty coin—from the musty parchment—even from the green mound on the lone hillside—some historic memorials of our ancient history; and what we thus study, what we thus interpret, what we thus examine, we cannot but respect, we cannot but be proud of, and therefore we ought to endeavour to preserve.

This spirit of veneration, however, of well-founded and reasonable respect for the monuments of national history, of national life, is not so widely diffused as we fully expect it will one day become. We cannot but look forward to the time when the study of national antiquities will form as essential a portion of a liberal education as the study of the antiquities of Greece and Rome, of Egypt and Syria; we cannot but hope that the different classes of national remains of all kinds will find their proper place in the minds of those who aspire to be raised by their intelligence above the less cultivated mass of their fellow-countrymen, or who lay any claim to a correct knowledge of their country's history. National history can never be studied on any true and sound basis, if separated from an extended and com-

prehensive knowledge of national antiquities.

History and Archæology—twin sisters, fellow handmaids—if not identically the same—must no longer be treated as the adjuncts, the ornaments, the superfluities of a well-stored mind; they must be considered and treated as what they intrinsically are—moral and social

The historian must be no longer only the reader and copier of other men's books-the collector and the reporter of common rumours—the reflector of fleeting political prejudices; or, if he is, he is nothing better than the political novelist—the historical romancer—the agreeable and enticing, but unsound though plausible, party essayist of the day. If the historian would compile a work worthy of his nation, and honourable to himself, he must convert himself into the scientific student of antiquity; he must become something of an Archæologist. It will not be enough for him to peruse in the original the parchments of our Ancient Records, but he must know and feel the full meaning of that language wherein each nation writes its own annals for itself,—its earthen camps, its rude walls, its moss-grown cromlechs, its lone hoar-stones, its frowning castles, its ivy-covered abbeys, its venerable churches, its storied domestic mansions, its humble cottages. It will not now be enough for the historian that he should have the diligence and the skill to read all the Records in the Chapter-House at Westminster; he must be able to give account of that exquisite building, and of its glorious abbey itself. No man can write the history of his country that cannot feel, and understand, and fully appreciate, the various classes of its monumental antiquities.

For want of this happy combination of archæological with historical knowledge, many a laborious writer must be content to have his works soon forgotten by posterity, because superseded by something more satisfactory, and more true. It may safely be said that the greatest part of the History of England, at no very distant time, and despite certain brilliant names of our own day, will have to be written over again; while of the History of Wales, notwithstanding the labours of several industrious and philosophical students, it may

be asserted that it has even yet to be commenced.

The importance of the study of antiquities is, however, hardly denied by anybody, though the number of those who are willing to undergo the labour-sometimes tedious, sometimes costly, but always most enduringly gratifying-of carrying on that study seriously and systematically, is not yet so great as the science demands. It is the fashion now-a-days for everybody to be more or less archæological; people understand and purchase pictures, and old china, and objects of virtu; and they also talk about pointed architecture, and old armour, and coins; and a few divaricate, some to the beauties of fayence, and niello, and Majolican ware; and some even go so far as to commit themselves about prehistoric remains; some read Ruskin's rubbish; others go to Venice, Nuremburg, Granada; many subscribe to Archæological Societies, and attend their meetings! So that we are all pretty well agreed: we have some sort of pleasure, if not of faith, in Archæology; we vote it to be rather a good thing, rather fashionable—and we think it best to encourage it.

The next step, after acquiring a love and respect for objects of antiquity as forming in themselves part of the national treasures—

material tangible proofs and memorials of national history—the next step, after acquiring this kind, this class of feelings, is to endeavour to preserve those monuments, those records, those objects of antiquity. We all agree pretty well in this too; but it should be carefully remarked that, in this very respect, the national mind exhibits at the present moment a peculiar phase: it shows symptoms which ought not to escape our notice. Certain classes of objects and monuments are better understood than others; they are more popular, more interesting, more useful, perhaps; and they are looked after by dealers, and people come to find out that it is not the correct thing to injure, or even to neglect them. Pictures by the old masters-pre-Raffaelite productions—are so generally appreciated, so much valued. that they are sure not only of being preserved, but of being imi-Coins are becoming safer than they were before: the ignorant peasant still sells them to the silversmith; but the latter, instead of melting them any longer, sends them to the metropolitan dealers; and they ultimately find their way into the cabinet of the collector,—sometimes, but this is rare, and often in an inverse ratio compared with their value, even into the British Museum. Old furniture may be called the pet antiquity of the day: everybody is fond of his old-oak Glastonbury chair—his Elizabethan table—his Tudor bed: one or other of these things is indispensable in any house that has any pretensions at all to be—but I need not particularize. Old-oak, therefore, is not only carefully preserved, and dearly sold, at the present day, but it is also skilfully manufactured; and one street alone in the metropolis could furnish, in the most intensely mediæval style, all the houses in any given county. Parchments and Records, having long been looked upon with a kind of superstitious dread, are Who knows but that some old deed, found in a parish also pretty safe. chest, may prove the fortunate finder to be descended from Llewelvn ap Adam, and entitle him to all the broad lands surrounding the manor house of the neighbouring squire. Instead of selling such a deed to the bookbinder, or tailor, as used commonly to be done, it is now shown to the parson, then to the lawyer, then to some county collector, and at last gets into a place of safety. Is there any man, for instance, that would stand calmly by and allow some barbarian stranger to pull down the great window of Tintern Abbey? True, it belongs to a right noble owner, who values and guards it as he ought; but still, though it be another's property, would not any injury wantonly done to it be considered not merely a county, but even a national loss? We all admit this—and facts and reasonings of the same kind—the feelings of the nation—of the intellectual portion of the nation—go quite as far as this; but they do not go far enough; and this is the very point to which I am desirous of calling your attention.

Those objects of antiquity, those classes of national remains which are not so strikingly interesting—not so generally understood—not so thoroughly appreciated, are little esteemed; and, though they are

quite as valuable, in a national and historical point of view, they are neglected, and very commonly destroyed. Objects of ancient art are appreciated and preserved with more or less of intelligence and good taste; but archaic, primæval, early, pre-historic, out-of-door, hillside, roadside monuments—call them what you will—are not The Roman road, understood, are not valued, are not preserved. the Roman pavement, the Roman villa, are still thought something of; for the giant shadow of imperial Rome still hovers over Europe, and the mighty influence of her former power is still felt—her monuments are still in some degree respected. But the earthwork or the stonework of the Ancient Briton, of the Saxon, of the Dane, is still despised. The maenhir—the cromlech—the circle—they have no voice for the multitude; they stand like the ghosts of a dim and remote epoch about which little or nothing is known; they are not objects of art; they cannot very well be removed into a man's library. "Agricultural improvement," on the other hand, is a fashionable requirement of the day; "building improvement" is a tangible proof of the strong good practical sense of the landowner; a few ounces of powder soon remove these stupid old stones; and the result is then a few square yards of ground recovered, and a dozen superficial yards of new walling put up for next to nothing! What chance have objects of this kind against the cupidity and ignorance of those that are bent on their destruction? And suppose that a long line of ancient ditches and earthworks stretches across a district, and, to those who can sift out its meaning, tells of the territorial boundaries of former states, or the wars of early tribes of men, and perhaps bands down even to the present day some historical glory of a great name;—suppose that such a work prevents the occupying tenant from ploughing his land, and forces him to keep it in grass instead of in oats or mangolds,—is this old heap of rubbish that has got nothing to say for itself—that is nothing but a heap, a mound, a dyke-and all covered with poor wiry grass, or thickset with stonesshall such a nuisance be allowed to remain any longer? The tenant but he may be excused—goes to speak about it to the agent; the agent is a practical man, mainly anxious for the improvement of the estate—he has not read any early British History—(there is none worth reading that has yet been written by-the-bye)—he does not know anything about Teutons, or Belgæ, or Cymry, or Gwyddelod-it is quite evident that the earthwork is not a work of high, of fine art, and it is equally certain that the tenant is hostile to it. If he has not carte-blanche from the owner of the estate to do as he likes, the agent goes to the landlord—noble or commoner—who very probably has never seen the mound in question; his dogs never throw off there—he has never heard of any cocks found near it; why should he soil his hand or his mind with dirty earth, or mud, or stones? The order of destruction is forthwith issued, and a dozen men and ploughs soon eradicate the last vestige of this early work—this monument of early national life, which is despised merely because it is not understood! Most commonly, however, the tenant does not ask the agent, or if he does, the agent does not ask the landlord; and the earthwork

is destroyed before even its existence is suspected.

Do not suppose that I am speaking of imaginary cases—fighting with shadows: witness all the county histories that have ever been written; witness all antiquarian transactions; witness the pages of our own Archaelegia Cambrensis, for proofs of this destructive spirit being still most active against early stone and earthen works. Did we not, when at Llandeilo, find at Cara Goch men who had just been carting away stones from it for their walls? Did not the farmers round there come forward to tell us how they remembered the houses being built or repaired from those pre-historic mounds? Did they not say how they remembered the great upright slabs of the entrances carried away for the steps of such and such a place? What mean all those fallen cromlechs—thrown down because they were superstitious—if not blasted or buried? What means that ancient inscribed stone used as a gate post?—that other as a steppingstone across the brook? Is there not many and many a camp all over the land with roads cut through its mounds—with its ditches nearly obliterated? Yes: but then these are unknown, private, unimportant objects—hardly worth preserving! Nobody knows anything about them, nor misses their loss! Only show us some really national monument—some Stonehenge, some monument or earthwork, to which any positive piece of history or poetical tradition is attached—something that bears a man's name, with something like a probable date—and the case would be far otherwise! No agent, no landlord, would think of injuring such a thing as this—at least at this present day! It might have been done in your grandfather's time, but then there were no archæological societies. It was altogether a different thing then: we are bound to make allowances and respect our grandfathers, even if they did not know how to value the works of their earlier ancestors! All that is gone by! And at the present day such destruction would be purely and simply impossible!

Alas! alas! were there not till within the last few years those graves by the side of the Roman road over the Merionethshire mountains, going from Ffestiniog to Llanrwst—the Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy? were they not then, some dozen of them, all perfect with their stones? did not they perpetuate the memory of an old poetically historic tradition? did they not mark the slaughter of those who stole away the maidens? Oh, no! They were Roman graves! Were they indeed? Ought they not therefore to have been preserved? But the tenant wanted to build a wall! What, are there no stones on that mountain side? Where are these graves now? Not one remains!

Yes, but all this refers to some years ago: the thing is, would such profanation of an historic monument have been perpetrated in Wales now—within the last three or four for instance?

Alas! alas!—Offa's Dyke!——

Well, then, the upshot of the matter is this, that whether through

ignorance or whether through neglect, the early stone and earth works of this country are still not understood, not appreciated, not protected as they should be; and it is therefore peculiarly the duty of our Association to point out this circumstance, and to impress on all who belong to us, all who hear us, all whom we can influence—the duty of preserving these early proofs of early national life—these early materials of early British history—these still surviving records of our remote ancestors. British history has still to be examined, elucidated, worked up, and written: till that is done, every one of these works—these obscure remains—has a decided value. Everybody, who allows one of them to be injured, does what he can to remove a proof of our early history, of our early national life—does what he can to impede, instead of promoting, the study of national and historical antiquities.

The preserving action, however, must come down from the more intellectual to the less enlightened classes of society—from the noble to the peasant. If the great landowners could be induced to take a real and active interest in the early antiquities of their estates, the agents would follow their example, the tenants would be influenced by the agents, the labourers by the tenants: and this wanton destruction of early national monuments would not be so often heard of. I am convinced that the proper persons to commence the action are the landowners—the great and noble proprietors of the land. If they made it an imperative and invariable rule for their agents never to allow of any obliteration or destruction of early works, without first reporting and consulting with themselves; if agents would only take the trouble to inspect their land, and ascertain what kind of monuments existed on it, and, if any were found, if they would only apply for information as to their value to some competent person (and there are 300 members of our own Association banded together "for the study and preservation of national antiquities"); if tenants would only reflect that they are in fairness bound to consult their landlords before they make any alterations on their premises, much would be done towards staying the mischief. We cannot, perhaps, remedy the past; but we may, by proper care and foresight, do much towards preventing such evil for the future!

In a neighbouring nation—in Denmark—the monarch himself is perpetual President and Chairman of the Antiquarian Association. His Majesty is often present at their sittings, takes a part in their discussions, and is a most accomplished and learned antiquary. There, in a land peculiarly rich with early remains of all kinds, these remains are properly valued and carefully preserved. But shall not we ourselves try in this, our own dear old country, to emulate so good an example? Have we not the honour of having at the head of our list of members that Prince, who is so nearly and dearly attached to the illustrious Lady that graces the throne? Ought we not to have within our ranks that young Prince who derives his title from the very land to which we belong? Have we not most of the

noblemen and gentlemen of the Principality among our most active and warmest friends and supporters? Surely an appeal to them, to protect all the early monuments on their lands, ought not to be made in vain! Surely they know the value of these mute, yet enduring, records of ancient British national life! Surely they will take effectual steps to prevent the recurrence of such demolitions as all true antiquaries have deplored, hitherto in vain!

If we are in earnest about the study of our national monuments, let us prove it by the care with which we have them respected and

preserved !-I am, &c.,

An Antiquary.

# EARLY IRISH AND WELSH BUILDINGS.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—My attention has been directed to a letter signed "An Antiquary," in the October Number of the Archæologia Cambrensis, 1859, calling in question an assertion of mine, which appears as a note to my Memoir on the Early Irish Buildings preserved in the County Kerry, at Fahan, and published in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, No. LVII., p. 22.

I beg to say that the statement there made with reference to the authenticity of the Welsh poem (it should have been called a tale) referred to, is clearly a misconception on my part of a hasty conversation which I had with the Rev. Dr. Graves, on the morning of the day on which I brought this Memoir before the Ethnological Section of the British Association, during its meeting in Dublin. I should not have stated that the poem referred to was of undoubted authenticity.

For the first time since the occasion alluded to I have had an opportunity of referring to this poem, or tale. It is published by Mr. Taliesin Williams (Ab Iolo) amongst the Iolo MSS., for the Welsh MSS. Society, 1848, and is headed, "Tale, The Account of Caradoc."

In this occurs the following passage:—"After burning the woods as above mentioned in the territories of Bran and his Cymry, there was such a scarcity of timber that they had not materials for building houses, and from that arose the proverb, 'It is easier to find a carpenter than materials,' . . . . in consequence of which the Cymry were obliged to build their houses of stone, and these houses were constructed in the form of a stack of corn, or hay, or the form of a bee-hive, being round, gathered together at the top instead of a wooden roof, with a hole for the smoke in the centre over head, as may be seen in the ruins of those houses that are to be found to this day on the mountains and in uncultivated places."—p. 599.

The romantic tale from which the foregoing extract has been made is, from internal evidence, clearly not of "undoubted antiquity," and it would be "absurd" to assert that it was. But yet the description given in it of the rough circular stone house is so perfectly applicable to that of an ancient Irish cloghaun, that it well merits the antiquary's

attention.

It appears to me that the "Antiquary" never saw one of these Welsh circular stone bee-hive houses; and it is quite clear that Dr. Graves committed no absurdity in asserting that the early Welsh remains, such as are referred to in this tale, have been erected after the type and fashion of the ancient Irish cloghauns.—I am, &c.

GEO. V. DU NOYER, M.R.I.A.

Royal Irish Academy, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin, 10th January, 1860.

### WELSH CONFISCATIONS.

To the Editor of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

SIR,—The founder of the almshouses at Cerrig-y-drudion was the well known Judge Price, of Foxley, in this county, an ancestor of the late Sir Robert Price, who died two years ago, and who for nearly

forty years represented this city and county in Parliament.

His biography, including his speech in Parliament against the grant to the Earl of Portland of the lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and other lands in the Principality, as well as his will, under which the almshouses at Cerrig-y-drudion were endowed, with other interesting matters connected with this great man, may be found in a volume, published in 1734, entitled, The Life of the Late Honorable Robert Price, Esqre., one of the Justices of His Majesty Court of Common Pleas. I believe, however, the volume was published for private circulation, and is scarce. I shall be happy to afford any information therefrom to a "Welsh Jacobite."

I remain, &c., James Davies.

Hereford, 24th January, 1860.

[Our correspondent will do well to turn to Pennant's North Wales for a succinct account of Baron Price. We have recently seen, in the Pennant Library, at Downing, an admirably engraved portrait of this eminent judge, by Vertue, from a picture by Kneller. He is represented as a noble-looking man, in his robes as a Baron of the Exchequer.—Ed. Arch. Camb.]

### CELTIC INTERMENTS.

To the Editor of the Archeologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I beg leave to send you what I consider an important note connected with my Burial Paper upon the Cromlech, and I regret that I had not stumbled upon it when I wrote it. It would at once have refuted our esteemed President's remark, that he had not witnessed when in the East and Judea anything of the kind, the sepulchres being in caves of rocks. This might have been the case at the period to which the Bishop referred, but it does not disprove the fact that, at I suppose a much earlier period, the llech, or cromlech, sepulture was used. The extract I subjoin is from a Latin translation by the Maronites from the Arabic, vide Benjamini Itinerarium, p. 47.

"At vero Bethlehem, locus videlicet ille in quo natus est Christus,

# Archwalngical Antes and Oneries.

Note 49.—TAL Y LLYN, MERIONETH.—I have been informed by the late Mr. Turnor, of Pool Park, Denbighshire, that the Valuation of the Tithes of Tal y Llyn, Merioneth, an early document, is in the custody of the Bishop of Lichfield, the impropriator; if so, some of our English members would do well to look into this valuation when they next visit Lichfield. Many curious particulars might be gleaned from it.

J.

N. 50.—Gold Ring, Trawsfynydd.—Some years ago a plain, but very massive, gold finger ring was found near Trawsfynydd. On the inner side it bears the inscription Feare god. According to local tradition some non-juring bishop was buried hereabouts, in the time of William III., or Queen Anne; and it is supposed that this ring belonged to him. Is anything known on this subject? Information is desired.

N. 51.—THE IRISH AT BARDSEY.—It is stated that there are now living some very old persons on Bardsey Island, who can remember their fathers saying that Irish freebooters often landed on the island in their days, to pillage the crops, cattle, and goods of the inhabitants. Are any traces of this tradition to be found among the records of the courts of justice in North Wales?

T.

Query 100.—LACTUALS.—Every benefice within the diocese of St. Asaph pays an annual sum of money to the bishop, under the title of Lactualia. What is the precise legal meaning of this term? and does the same practice exist in other Welsh dioceses?

# Miscellaneans Batices.

ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

—The next Annual Meeting of this Society will be held at Gloucester, from July 24th to July 31st. The place seems to us very judiciously chosen; and we recommend all our brother antiquaries, who can spare the time, to attend the meeting.

RHYMNEY CHURCH, MONMOUTHSHIRE.—We are sorry to hear that, in the recent repairs of this church, the style and design of the old roof have not been adhered to for the new one. This new roof is poor in comparison with what it is put up instead of; whereas it would have been easy to follow the lines of that which, though old, was decidedly good in character. In all restorations of mediæval buildings it should be a sacred rule for modern architects not to obliterate the

for the present with the following passage, shortly following upon the above:-

"These cases of approximation are significant, though few; but all the glosses accessible are not many. The only inference he can draw from them is, that when the Saxon invasion divided the Britons of Wales from those of the South and West, the language of the former suffered changes which did not affect that of South Britain in an equal proportion; that the Welsh became a separate dialect, while in Brittany and Cornwall a language remained in use more nearly representing that from which the ancients drew the Gallic words which they occasionally inserted in their writings. The writer would be much gratified if what he has hinted here should induce a competent Celtic scholar to examine the glosses we have, and to search for

others that are probably in existence, though unknown.

"At the epoch when the Ordinalia and Mount Calvary were written, the writer believes that Cornish was as free from admixture of English, as the Welsh is at the present day. A patriotic Welshman, or a foreigner who reads a Welsh book, may demur to this statement, when he sees the number of English words in the pages of the Ordinalia; but on a closer investigation, he will find that most of these English words appear in whole phrases, that they are generally quotations or asseverations used ornamentally by the speaker, much in the same way that French was dragged in, right or wrong, by the fashionable characters in some of our old plays. He will also find that such quotations do not appear in the Poem of Mount Calvary, which was probably of the same age. It must also be remembered, that a Welshman has always before him a pure and ancient literature for his guidance and imitation, enabling him to select a Celtic word for his ideas in writing, when in speaking he might have used an English synonym; that a Cornish writer had no such model, but that he probably wrote for the vulgar only, and would prefer an English word if he thought it would be better understood; perhaps he might wish to display his superior knowledge. Public notices printed at the present day in Wales for the information of the people, such as may now and then be seen in the larger Welsh towns, will be found to have as many English words incorporated as we meet with in the early Cornish Poem."

(To be continued.)

Some Account of Llandaff Cathedral, &c. By the Bishop of Llandaff. (Second Edition.) 1 vol. 4to. London: Rivingtons. 1860.

This handsome volume is worthy not only of the author, but also of the venerable building to which it refers; it is just the book that we required to finish the story of Llandaff Cathedral, and to do justice to that happy movement which at the eleventh hour prompted so many persons to come forward and join in the good work. We had previously known most of the material points of the history of this cathedral, of its spoliation, of its neglect, of its quasi-desecration, of its restoration; but the present bishop has collected all the historical facts into one convenient conspectus, and has illustrated them thoroughly well, so that, now, members of our Association are fully in possession of all that is really wanted to be known about the building.

We do not purpose to review this book with the object of making known its contents—we are most of us acquainted with them already; but we cannot debar ourselves from the pleasure of making a few observations upon it. And, in the first place, the account is written lucidly and systematically, plainly and scholar-like; there is no verbiage in it; it is simple and satisfactory. In the next, the illustrations are excellent; one of them in particular, a view of the ruined nave by moonlight, executed by Miss Ollivant, is most effective. Another. the outline sketch of the Cathedral of Llandaff in 1734—considered as the ne plus ultra of ecclesiastical architecture—is uncommonly curious; it is an exact measure of the taste and feeling of that day. Let us congratulate ourselves that we live a century later! And yet it has always struck us as a peculiar anomaly that Wood, who really was one of the first architects that England has produced, should have so completely failed, even in this cheap design, which the parsimony of a capitular body imposed upon him. His works at Bath are among the very finest national monuments that England possesses of the modern Italian style—the Circus is unequalled by anything in this country—the north side of Queen Square has no rival in London the Exchange at Bristol, the internal court we mean, is of extreme beauty; we confess that the Pump Room at Bath is not perfection; so, certainly, Llandaff Cathedral, à la Wood, was the very bathos of the architect's taste; it is a positive anomaly. We never could make out how a man of such talent designed such an abominable abortion! It is gone however! we cannot say "peace be to its memory!" it is deserving of our heartiest execrations!

And so also is that horribly sordid, and we had almost said dishonest, spirit that pervaded the official guardians of the cathedral, even from before the great spoliation down to our own times. It is worthy of all abhorrence—a bad specimen of a bad spirit—not the anly one in this country! Just as much as we anathematize this, so would we canonize the memories of those who have been the renovators of this sacred pile. From Dean Bruce Knight to Dean Williams—from Bishop Copleston to Bishop Ollivant—all are worthy of gratitude and respect for the noble spirit they have manifested. Nor are the laity less deserving of praise; they have come forward right generously, and they will not cease to stand to the work till it is finished.

Here, however, another subject of wonder strikes us. Is there no family, no individual, in Wales, in England, that would consider it an konour and a privilege to be allowed to rebuild a cathedral single-handed? Is there no man of some £40,000 a year who would deem it honourable for his name, and for his children after him, to have it said that he had rebuilt Llandaff—by himself—alone? Is the admiration of contemporaries, is the gratitude of posterity, so cheap, that the disbursement of one year's income, spread over ten years, would not be a good political, as well as moral investment? Title for title, surely the fame of the rebuilder of a cathedral would be as good as that of being M.P.—much more valuable than that of a peerage given as a reward for long party services, or as a bribe for consenting to abstain from party pillage!

There are two other Welsh cathedrals which require rebuilding from the very foundations, not in poor neighbourhoods; and the fourth, which really is in a poverty-stricken county, calls urgently for extensive repairs. Are there not three Welshmen of sufficient means and generosity to come forward and arrogate to themselves the honour of restoring from their own unaided resources these houses of God?

We observe the bishop devotes the proceeds of the sale of this second edition of his book (it costs only fourteen shillings) to the purchase of an organ, and the establishment of a choir at Llandaff; and we earnestly trust that the members of our Association will aid his

lordship in so generous and praiseworthy a design.

THE CHARITY OF THOMAS HOWELL, A.D. 1540. By Thomas FALCONER, Esq., Judge of County Courts. London: Reynell. 1860.

This is a very curious and interesting publication, we mean to the antiquary as well as to the educationist, and the jurist. It is only in so far as it concerns local history that we can notice it in these pages; the main body of its contents, referring to the nature and the administration of a charitable bequest, would be interesting to the lawyer, not to the archæologist. Still even the latter cannot avoid feeling alive to the subject, inasmuch as it affords another instance of a bequest made for certain good and charitable purposes coming ultimately to be devoted to others of rather a different nature. It was impossible for any antiquary, and especially a legal or historical antiquary, not to feel much excitement during the late proceedings of the Royal Commissioners for the remodelling of Oxford and Cambridge. Time-hallowed and legally confirmed institutions were then handled with all the ready roughness of modern popular legislation; and in this present instance, as in many others, the Court of Chancery, like a Star Chamber revived—and the Legislature itself in the form of a special Act of Parliament—have interposed their authority between a wealthy London company and certain persons of the "little unknown" in Monmouthshire and Wales; rescuing a fine estate from one party, and applying it in a manner that the latter, if they have any bond fide right under the beneficent testator's will, may reasonably demur to.

In this pamphlet, written by a learned member of our Association, there is much to interest not only the special but also the general archæological reader. One of the chief things to be noticed is the testator's will, which is decidedly worthy of being put on record once more, even in our own pages. It is as follows:-

"Thomas Howell, by his will dated in 1540, and made by him during his residence at Seville, bequeathed as follows:

<sup>&</sup>quot;'Item, I communde myne executours that I leve in Syvell, that incontynent, after my deathe, they doo send to the citie of London 12,000 duckats of gold, by billes of cambio, for to delyver to the House called Draper's Hall—to delyver theyme to the Wardeynes thereof; and the said Wardeynes, so sone as they have received the same 12,000 duckats to buy therewith 400

duckats of rent yearly for evermore—in possession for evermore. And it is my will, that the said 400 duckats be disposed unto four maydens, being orphanes,—next of my kynne and of bludde—to theire marriage—if they can be founde—every one of them to have 100 duckats—and if they cannot be founde of my lynnage, then to be geven to other foure maydens, though they be not of my lynnage, so that they be orphanes, honnest, of goode fame and every of them 100 duckats—and so, every yere, for to marry four maydens for ever. And if the said 12,000 duckats will bye more lande then the said 12,000 duckats to be spente to the marriage of maydens, being orphanes, increasing the foure maydens aforesaide as shall seeme by the discretion aforesaide of the Master and Wardeynes of the saide House of Draper's Hall; and that this memoria to remain in writing in the Booke of Memoryes in the said House in suche mannere as it shall at no time be undone for ever.'"

If ever a will was pithy and plain, and impervious to legal cavil, it was this. But then comes the history of how the money never was paid in full; of how the Company of Drapers forgot the change in the value of money, and adhered to the letter, but omitted the spirit; and how, had it not been, we believe, for the spirited exertions of another member of our Association—a good legal antiquary by the way—this same snug charity might have slumbered on for ever till it crumbled away in the mouldering dust of future ages. We are then informed how the Court of Chancery was moved—not quickly; and how the Legislature interfered; and how at length the charity has been applied to found two large girls' schools in North and South Wales; and how we do not hear of its being used "for to marry four maydens for ever."

We are bound here to find a flaw, and to object that the lineage of Thomas Howell may not be able to produce four marriageable maidens at any given time; on the other hand, if the young girls are not produceable on the spur of the moment, we commend the provident charity of the founder, who doubtless intended that the funds should annually accumulate, for future contingencies. We do not feel inclined to go into the question of the right or wrong distribution of the charity funds under the present settlement, for this would transport us from archæological to hodiernal matters—not at all within our province. We cannot, however, avoid bearing testimony to the great legal acumen which this pamphlet shows; and we would in particular point out to our readers' notice the eloquent rebuke given by the author to the late Lord Langdale, by putting into his mouth what he ought to have said to the Draper's Company instead of what he did say. It is drawn in admirable language, and is a grand passage of forensic eloquence, as well as of constitutional law.

This pamphlet ought to be added to all collections of Welsh history; it is very able, and is likely to be much talked of. We wish its learned author would investigate the history of other Welsh charities of former days.

designs of the original builders. Repairs, if limited to reconstruction, are good; but restoration, degenerating into destruction, is a very curse.

THE BACKSLIDER'S MIRROR.—Translated by EDWARD BYAM, Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., Stationer's Hall Court.—Although this little work does not strictly come within our province, and although, even if it had been admissible, we should have certainly declined to identify ourselves with its orthodoxy, either in a religious, or, as regards the notes, in an archæological point of view, yet we are bound to acknowledge that it appears to us to be a remarkable instance of a successful translation from a language which has seldom been so well treated by translators as it has been in the present case by Mr. Byam. The peculiarities of the original have been so faithfully transferred to the pages before us, that readers, who are unacquainted with the nervous imagery of an "Ancient Briton," may easily form a correct notion of some of the peculiarities of a language, so well illustrated in the original. The translator, indeed, in a note, identifies, by a process legitimately carried out in accordance with the usual laws of etymology, the name of Byam with that of Ieuan, or Evan, or rather with Ap Evan, &c.; yet we are not aware that he is very intimately connected with Wales, or that Welsh can in any respect be called his mother tongue. If we are correct in our conjectures, we congratulate Mr. Byam on having so completely mastered a difficult language, as to have produced such a vivid and accurate translation of a work so thoroughly Welsh in all respects.

WILL OF RYS AP GRIFFITH AP ARON.—See No. XXI., January, 1860. (Correction.)—For Vycham, read Vychan; for dorri mon, read dorri rron. I also have been guilty of an oversight in making it seem in my note as though, because Rys was foreman of a jury in 32 Henry VI., he outlived his visit to foreign parts, after the date of his will, 1476. I know not how I committed this blunder. The sum of my statement, however, remains the same. The dates given are perfectly correct, and he was living in 1481.

W. W. E. W.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT HOYLAKE, IN CHESHIRE.—The village of Hoylake lies on the sea-coast of Cheshire, near the mouth of the river Dee, and is about nine miles distant from Liverpool. The sea margin exhibits a series of dunes, or sand hills, beneath which there is a thin stratum of black earth on which the tide makes inroads from time to time. Within this earth, and below the present high-water mark, objects of art and industry have been found, indicating almost every degree of civilization. They have been picked up at intervals during a period of more than forty years, within a very limited area. In date, the objects range over all periods, from the prehistoric, British, and Roman times, down to the reign of George II. In material, they include gold, silver, iron, brass, bronze, lead, copper; also bone, wood, leather, stone, amber, glass, jet, terra-cotta, &c. In use or design they present the greatest variety, ranging literally. "from a needle to an anchor." It may be sufficient to name buckles, fibulæ,

hair-pins, needles, needle-cases, tweezers, bosses, studs, badges, prickspurs, hawks' bells, finger-rings, ear-rings, coins, pilgrim signs, personal seals, spatulæ, knives, whistles, coffer handles, keys, arrow-heads, pheons, cross-bow bolts, spoons, spindle whorls, fish-hooks, whetstones, belt-hasps, strap-tags, beads, crucifixes, Roman scissors, mediæval chatellaines, skewers, badges, nails, weights, horse trappings, axes, a gigantic comb, a musket rest, tobacco pipes, workmen's tools, flint arrow-heads, monastic seals, ear-picks, hinges, hand-bells, javelins, remains of extinct animals, &c. A few of the objects exhibit traces of coloured enamel. Several of the most interesting have been brought to light within the last three years; some of them extremely primitive in construction, and others displaying a high degree of artistic skill. Within a few perches of the site where all of them were found, there are extensive remains of a submarine forest; and also distinct evidences of an artificial plantation. The whole collection is remarkable for its extent and variety, as well as for the peculiar conditions under which it has been procured. A full account of these valuable remains is about to be published by the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D. It will be in one volume, 8vo.; and will be illustrated by about thirty plates and a map, and the price to Subscribers will be only twelve

shillings.

DESTRUCTION BY FIRE OF THE KING OF DENMARK'S COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES.—We are sure that all good antiquaries will lament the loss of that invaluable collection of northern antiquities which was the chief ornament of the Royal Palace of Fredericksborg, near Copenhagen. The accident is thus related:—"The fire first commenced in the chimney of the billiard-room, and first showed itself, about two o'clock in the morning, by a strong eruption of smoke. Awakened by the smell, one of the aides-de-camp, who slept in the room over, went and informed the king. His Majesty would not at first believe in the existence of any serious danger; but, in an hour after, the fire, which had been making its way among the woodwork of the old edifice, burst out with frightful fury. The king went down into the court-yard, and directed in person all the operations, while repeated dispatches were sent off for assistance from Copenhagen. From the distance, however, of the Palace from the capital, nearly five miles, all hopes of saving the building had vanished before any aid could arrive. To add to the difficulties, the lake on which the palace is situated was frozen over, and much time was lost before it could be broken, and the pipe of the engine had not been at work many minutes before that also burst. The large carved door of the chapel, the silver altar-piece, and the pulpit, were saved; but the greater portion of the pictures, and the superb collection of antiquities. which have taken twenty-five years to collect, have been destroyed. Four persons were killed by the falling in of the chapel, and several others seriously injured. The king remained to the last on the scene of destruction, and in the evening went to Copenhagen. The civil and military authorities waited on His Majesty, at the Palace of Christiansborg, to express their condolence on the catastrophe. The diplomatic body also deputed one of their members to wait on His Majesty for the same purpose. The king has ordered the conservators of the museums of Copenhagen to proceed to the scene of disaster, in order to collect any objects of value which may have escaped the flames." His Majesty, as one of the most learned and indefatigable archæologists of our day, is sincerely to be condoled with, for the loss is irreparable! We have here another warning of the danger that attends the heating of libraries and museums; surely the attention of architects cannot be too seriously called to the subject.

# Reniems.

THE ANCIENT CORNISH DRAMA. By Edwin Norris, Esq., Sec. R.A.S. (Second Notice.)

We return to this important work at the earliest available opportunity, and with interest, not only undiminished, but greatly increased, by more leisurely perusal and study of its contents. In our former review we gave a general idea of the nature of the dramas themselves, and of the MSS. from which they have been printed. We do not purpose, even in this present notice, quoting anything from the dramatic portion of the book, but shall still request our readers to follow us with the Appendix. Without intruding upon their attention by any superfluous remarks of our own, we think that we shall be discharging our editorial duties more satisfactorily by quoting copiously from the book itself. And here a curious portion of the subject is treated of under the head of "Representation of the Dramas"—the passages quoted below being worthy of the most careful perusal by all Cambrian and Breton readers; because, though the former have nothing of the same kind to produce, the latter will find themselves quite at home, and will readily understand all about it. In Wales, and Scotland too, as far as the drama is concerned, all is gloom and ignorance; in Britanny and Cornwall, cheerfulness and intelligence have prevailed, and still exist. A modern Welsh or Scottish peasant—we had almost said one of the middle-class in the agricultural districts is so surrounded with a peculiar moral atmosphere, that the drama is, to him, an abomination in every form. It was not so in Cornwall, as these volumes attest; nor is it so now in Britanny, where dramas, sacred and secular, are still in full vogue. But, to proceed with Mr. Norris's observations on the manner and plan of representing these dramas: he observes,-

"We have no notice of the performance of the Cornish plays earlier than that of Richard Carew, whose survey of Cornwall was first printed in 1602. In his time they were played in regular amphitheatres, and the account he

gives is well worth extracting, as it affords a vivid picture by one who was in all probability an eyewitness, nearly three centuries ago. 'The Guary miracle, in English, a miracle play, is a kinde of Enterlude, compiled in Cornish out of some Scripture history, with that grossenes which accompanied the Romanes vetus Comedia. For representing it, they raise an earthen Amphitheatre in some open field, having the Diameter of his enclosed playne some 40 or 50 foot. The Country people flock from all sides, many miles off, to hear & see it: for they have therein, denils and devices, to delight as well the eye as the eare; the players conne not their parts without booke, but are prompted by one called the Ordinary, who followeth at their back with the booke in his hand, and telleth them softly what they must pronounce aloud. Which maner once gaue occasion to a pleasant conceyted gentleman, of practising a mery pranke: for he vndertaking (perhaps of set purpose) an actors roome, was accordingly lessoned (beforehand) by the Ordinary, that he must say after him. His turn came: quoth the Ordinary, Goe forth man, and shew thyselfe. The Gentleman steps out upon the stage, and like a bad Clarke in scripture matters, cleauing more to the letter then the sense, pronounced those words aloud. Oh (sayes the fellowe softly in his eare) you marre all the play. And with this his passion, the Actor makes the Audience in like sort acquainted. Hereon the promptor falles to flat rayling cursing in the bitterest terms he could deuise: which the Gentleman with a set gesture and countenance still soberly related, vntill the Ordinary, driven at last into a madde rage, was faine to give over all. Which trousse, though it brake off the Enterlude, yet defrauded not the beholders, but dismissed them with a great deale more sport and laughter, then 20. such Guaries could have affoorded.'1

"Dr. Borlase, who wrote a century and a half later than Carew, mentions the amphitheatres in which the Cornish dramas were represented, and describes in detail two of those places, which were popularly styled Rounds, one in the parish of St. Just, near the Land's End, and the other at Piranzubuloe; illustrating his description with plans drawn to a scale, shewing that Carew had by no means exaggerated the dimensions of these theatres, or rather had seen only the smaller specimens. The following is extracted from Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall: "In these continued rounds or Amphitheatres of stone (not broken as the cirque of stones erect) the Britans did usually assemble to hear plays acted, to see the sports and games, which upon particular occasions were intended to amuse the people, to quiet and delight them; an Institution (among other Engines of State) very necessary in all Civil Societies: these are called with us in Cornwall (where we have great numbers of them) Plân an guare; viz. the level place, or plain of sport and pastime. The benches round were generally of Turf, as Ovid, talking of of these ancient places of sport, observes—

In gradibus sedit populus de cespite factis, Qualibet hirsuta fronde tegente comas.

""We have one whose benches are of stone, and the most remarkable monument of this kind which I have yet seen; it is near the church of St. Just, Penwith, now somewhat disfigured by the injudicious repairs of late years; but by the remains it seems to have been a work of more than usual labour and correctness. [Here a plate is referred to, which accompanies this account.] It was an exact circle of 126 feet diameter; the perpendicular height of the bank, from the area within, now seven feet; but the height from the bottom of the ditch without, ten feet at present, formerly more. The seats consist of six steps, fourteen inches wide, and one foot high, with one

<sup>1</sup> Carew, fol. 71h.

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on the top of all, where the Rampart is about seven feet wide. The plays they acted in these Amphitheatres were in the Cornish language, the subjects taken from Scripture History, and "called Guirimir, which Mr. Lhuyd supposes a corruption of Guari-mirkle, and in the Cornish dialect to signify a miraculous play or interlude. They were composed for begetting in the common people a right notion of the Scriptures, and were acted in the memory of some not long since deceased."

"In a note, the last few lines quoted are stated to be from Bishop Nicholson's Letter to Dr. Charlett, dated November 14, 1700, in the possession of

Mr. Ballard, of Magdalen College, Oxford.

"The Rev. Geo. Hadow, vicar of St. Just, has very kindly favoured me with a notice of the amphitheatre above described by Dr. Borlase:—'This old structure still remains in St. Just Church town, close to the principal inn; the clear outline of the circus is quite apparent, being formed externally by a stone wall of about four feet perpendicular height, whilst a green bank slopes inwards; there is now no outside ditch, nor are there any steps. It is the usual resort of all the idle boys of the town to play their games, and a pathway leads right through it from the town to the marketplace:—no one can pass through that part of the town, or go to Cape Cornwall without seeing it, though it has been sadly neglected as regards any repairs.'

"Another amphitheatre of larger dimensions is figured and described by Dr. Borlase in his Natural History of Cornwall, published in 1758, where he gives an elaborate account of the ancient dramas contained in these volumes. After some detail, commencing at p. 295, he says, 'The places where they were acted were the Rounds, a kind of amphitheater, with benches either of stone or turf. Of the former sort that exhibited in the Antiquities of Cornwall (p. 196, Pl. xvi. fig I.) served this purpose; but a much larger one, of higher mound, fossed on the outside, and very regular, is the amphitheater in the parish of Piran-sand, which, as it has some peculiarities, I have planned with

the following references.'

"A plan of the amphitheatre is given in the work, exhibiting a perfectly level area of 130 feet diameter; this was surrounded by a continued earthen mound, eight feet high, having seven turf benches on the inside; the top of the mound or rampart was seven feet in width. A peculiar feature of this Round was a pit in the area, described as 'a circular pit, in diameter thirteen feet, deep three feet, the sides sloping, and half way down a bench of turf, so formed as to reduce the area of the bottom to an ellipsis: 'this hollow was connected with the circular benches by a shallow trench four feet six inches wide, and one foot in depth; the length is not given in the text, but the scale shews it to have been forty feet: where it reaches the side, a semicircular breach about ten feet in diameter is made in the benches. Borlase suggests that the hollow pit might have generally served for representing Hell, and that in the drama of the Resurrection it might have served for the Grave. The trench he conjectures to have aided in representing the Ascension, but he does not clearly shew how this was done.

"These extracts will allow us to figure to ourselves the scene and the performance of Cornish Mystery-plays: the bare granite plain of St. Just, in view of Cape Cornwall, and of the transparent sea which beats against that magnificent headland, would be a fit theatre for the exhibition of what in those days of simplicity would appear a serious presentation of the great History of the Creation, the Fall, and the Redemption of Man, however implied by passages of lighter, or even of ludicrous character. The mighty gathering of people from many miles round, hardly showing like a crowd in that extended region, where nothing ever grows to limit the view on any side, with their booths or tents, absolutely necessary

when so many people had to remain three days on the spot, would give a character to the assembly probably more like what we hear of the so-called religious revivals in America, than of anything witnessed in more sober Europe. No doubt there was a good deal of readiness for sport and merriment, as there is generally in all large bodies of men assembled for receiving impressions rather than for action; but in times of less refinement, transitions of feeling are proportionately more rapid, and the comic parts of the drama would afford scope enough for laughter and mirthful excitement. The ludicrous scene described by Carew, where the Ordinary, whom Borlase calls the chief manager, was excited to violent rage by the indecorous behaviour of a performer, is a proof that in general good order was maintained. We may assume on the whole, that the representation of the Mysteries was more suitably made under circumstances like these, than with cumbrous machinery in the crowded streets of a city."

We have malice enough to suspect that some of our friends, after reading what we have just quoted, may at once be inclined to modify their opinions about "druidic circles," and to declare their long latent suspicion as to many of our lone mountain circles, raths, and other similar inclosures, having been originally used as "play-places," and spots of joyous assembly. Theory for theory, we are not disposed to quarrel with them. The assumption of circular inclosures being indicative of popular assemblies for pleasure, as well as for politics or religion, has nothing peculiarly improbable in it. It is certainly more consonant to reason than all the trash of modern bardism, and eisteddfodic absurdity. For all this, however, we doubt the possibility of any place of representation of mediæval dramas being proved to exist within the Principality; and this is the point in which Wales differs from Cornwall and Britanny. Antiquaries, however, will do well to bear all this in mind; and perhaps, at some future period, that obscure, unread corner of our Journal, where " Notes and Queries" are crammed, may bear traces of an over-inquisitive mind panting for information about the circular drama of Wales. What if it should be found that Welsh dramas were performed "four-square," or "threecornered," like the famous but difficult triangular duel?

Mr. Norris, in the next portion of the Appendix, attacks the much controverted point of language; and this part of his work will be of greater value than any other to some of our readers. He opens thus:—

"The Cornish is one of the Celtic languages; these are divided into two distinct classes, which may be conveniently called the Cymric and the Gaelic. The Gaelic class includes the Irish, Scottish, and Manks languages; the Cymric comprehends Welsh, Cornish, and Armoric: the two classes differ from each other perhaps as much as Latin and Greek. Of such notions as must necessarily exist in all human communities, a proportion may be found represented by words common to Gaelic and Cymric, as large as of those common to Latin and Greek; and the paradigms of the verbs, together with other grammatical relations, have a like analogy in the two classes of language respectively: the alleged absence of declension in the Cymric class, which appears to separate it from the Gaelic in so trenchant a manner, is removed by the existence of a genitive case in Cornish, in exact analogy with Irish, a fact mentioned by Lhuyd more than a century and half ago, but hardly

noticed.<sup>3</sup> It may be asserted without hesitation that the Cymric was separated from the Gaelic before the division into Cornish and Welsh was effected: and the writer is of opinion that the Cornish is the representative of a language

once current all over South Britain at least.

"In the Gaelic class the Irish and Scottish may be called one language; they differ from each other little more than English does from Lowland Scotch, and a student who reads one will find little difficulty with the other: Manks appears to be a corrupted and uncultivated Irish, of which O'Donovan says in the Introduction to his Irish Grammar, p. lxxx, 'An Irish scholar would find it difficult to understand a Manx book without studying the language as a distinct dialect.' Of the Cymric class, the Welsh differs from the two others as much as French from Spanish, while Cornish and Armoric stand in a closer relation; these resemble each other more than Dutch and German, as much perhaps as Portuguese and Spanish, but not so closely as Irish and In spite of statements to the contrary, the writer is of opinion that a Breton, within the historical existence of the two dialects, could not have understood a Cornishman speaking at any length, or on any but the most trivial subjects; he is himself unable to read a sentence in Armoric of more than half a dozen lines without the help of a dictionary. Mr. Scawen, near the close of the seventeenth century, made a similar remark, as quoted in the Preface to Pryce's Vocabulary: he observes, 'Words of one another, 'tis true, all those three sorts of people [Welsh, Cornish, and Bretons] do understand alternately (mutually?); not all, but mostly such as are radical. Colloquies of one another they do not enjoy.'"

The author then proceeds to state his reasons for considering the antiquity of the Irish language superior to that of the British; and thinks that the cause of the latter differing in many important points from the former is, that the British came in contact with a language totally distinct, and spoken by a nation of more feeble organization. He adds,—

"The separation between the two Celtic tongues the writer believes to have been effected after the arrival of the primitive stock in Britain; and he further is inclined to believe, that the people with whom the amalgamation took place were the men of the 'stone period,' the men of narrow skulls, whose skeletons, flint weapons, and tools, have been frequently dug up in These men, he would suggest, were præ-Celtic; but there is no evidence to show that they were extinct when the first Celts arrived; the balance appears rather to preponderate the other way. All the accounts left us by ancient writers indicate two different races simultaneously inhabiting Britain; the one a tribe who went naked and painted their bodies, who dwelt in tents, and indulged in promiscuous intercourse, were ignorant of agriculture, used stone hatchets and arrows, and probably were cannibals; the others men who built houses, dressed in black garments or in skins, coined money, constructed chariots, grew a good deal of corn, extracted metals from the ore, made bronze tools, and had probably some use of letters. It seems difficult to believe that these were one people, though confounded by the classical writers, who received without criticism the accounts brought home by casual travellers. But this was in early times, and the less civilized race may have been destroyed or absorbed by the time the Romans became better acquainted with the island; and yet St. Jerome in his youth, about the middle of the fourth century, saw in Gaul the Aticotti 'gentem Britannicam' feeding on

3 See the Grammar, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Usually named Attacotti. Zeuss, p. 837, restores Atticotos or Aticottos to the

human flesh; and he says that these savages, though they had plenty of swine and cattle in their forests, preferred the flesh of men and women for their horrid feasts.

"The amalgamation here supposed would effect a change in the manners and language of the earliest Celtic wanderers into Britain, great enough to make them foreigners to subsequent immigrants; and these coming in the unimpaired strength of their original stock, would expel the mixed multitude, enfeebled by the absorption of an inferior race. The objection usually made to such supposed expulsions is the displacement required, but this need not be large; a hundred families might be the nucleus of a nation, and placed in a fertile country like Ireland, they would amount to millions in a dozen generations. It might be refining too much to speculate on the race of the supposed pre-Celtic people; but if they were of that class which is still spead over the extreme north of Europe and Asia, the peculiar principle of vocalic harmony which pervades nearly all their languages would account for the singular orthographical rule known in Irish as 'leathan le leathan agus caol le caol.' It is true that this rule is not observed in the most ancient manuscripts, but it is at all events very old, and, according to Bourke, it is in many instances required by the natural tone of the language of the 'simple country Irish-speaking people.'5

"The superior antiquity of Irish as compared with British is obvious to an investigator possessing but a superficial knowledge of both; but the affinity between Welsh and Cornish is much too close to allow of so ready a decision. Of the difference between them we know nothing positive during four centuries at least after the Romans quitted Britain; but the close resemblance of Cornish to the Breton spoken at this day in France, justifies us in believing that a language akin to the Cornish of our oldest Manuscripts was the idiom of South Britain when the Roman departure took place. Whether any people of Germanic race then dwelled here is doubtful; the name of Belgae has given rise to some speculation tending that way, but the word has a suspicious resemblance to Welsh, Wallach, Gaulish, and some other variations of an appellation generally given by Germans to their neighbours of Celtic or Roman kindred."

After "showing cause" for his opinion that Cornish is older than Welsh, he observes :—

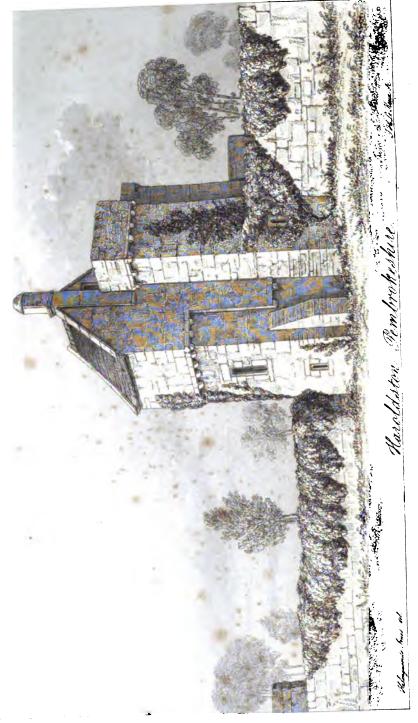
"The opinion which an investigator would be inclined to adopt from a view of such examples as these would be strengthened if he found that the Welsh glosses, which exist in Latin codices four or five centuries older than the oldest Welsh manuscripts, are written in a dialect and orthography approximating to more recent Cornish; he would infer, that if in the eighth century Welsh had Cornish forms and words which were lost or altered in the twelfth, Welsh was a departure from Cornish, and that at a more ancient period, when the causes which had so fatally impaired the pure Celtic tongue had not begun to operate, the Welsh was still more like Cornish. Now what do we find? On a cursory examination of the three hundred words existing in these glosses, most of which are in the Bodleian, and all are printed in Zeuss's Grammatica Celtica, the writer believes that such an approximation to Cornish

He adduces instances of approximations, and we suspend our notice

text of Jerome. May not this name be derived from Athi cot, 'out of the woods?" The recent Cornish form would be Athy cos, with the usual change of t to s; a Breton would now say euz a goat; a Welshman oddi goed.

5 See Bourke's College Irish Grammar, Dublin, 1856, p. 6.





# Archwologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXIII.-JULY, 1860.

# ON SOME OLD FAMILIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF LAMPETER, CARDIGANSHIRE.

(Read at Cardigan.)

THE materials of this account have not been obtained without some research and labour, and I trust that it will be interesting to those connected by blood with the families of the county of Cardigan, if not to the archæological inquirer. I wish, before going any farther, to acknowledge my obligations, for valuable assistance in compiling the paper, to the Rev. H. R. Lloyd, Vicar of Owersby, Lincolnshire, and to Mr. Gwynne Stedman Thomas, of the town of Caermarthen. I am also indirectly indebted to Mr. Walter Lloyd, of Caermarthen, for some particulars in the later history of Peterwell.

It was one of Voltaire's sneers, that heraldic knowledge is "the science of fools with long memories;" and a Welshman's fondness for pedigree has always been the subject of ridicule; yet no one will deny that genealogical memoranda are valuable aids to history. But the Welshman's predilection arose from the state of the law with regard to property. The Welshman's pedigree was his title-deed, by which he claimed his birthright in the country. Every one was obliged to show his descent through nine generations in order to be acknowledged a free native, and by which right he claimed his portion of land in the community. He was affected, with respect to legal process, in his collateral affinities through nine degrees. For instance, every murder committed had a fine levied on the relations of the murderer, divided into nine parts; his brother paying the greatest, and the ninth in

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Nid wyf fi yn perthyn iddo o fewn i'r nawfed sch," is a common saying in these parts.

affinity the least. This fine was distributed in the same way among the relatives of the victim; an ordinance which, if liable to objection on the score of justice, was admirably calculated to insure a diminution of crime. A person passed the ninth descent formed a new *pencenedl*, or head of a family. Every family was represented by its elder, and these elders from every family were delegates to the national council.

The origin of this system is buried in the depths of antiquity, for it was found to be in existence at the early part of the tenth century, when Howel the Good revised the laws of his country. (Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick's Preface to Lewys Dwnn's Heraldic Visitation of Wales)

Visitation of Wales).

To those acquainted with all this, the Welshman's predilection

for pedigree does not appear at all a subject for wonder.

It has been said—I am not able to say how far correctly—that fewer estates have descended in a direct line in the Principality than in any part of the kingdom. Some of those here present will, I doubt not, be able to say how far this is correct, and to put their finger on the causes that may have contributed to this effect. With regard to the old families in the neighbourhood of Lampeter, any one tracing their history cannot fail to notice how completely most of them have disappeared from among the generations of the children of men.

The families in this neighbourhood, as appears from the pedigrees of Lewys Dwnn, "Deputy Herald-at-Arms for Wales and parts of the Marches" in the time of Queen Elizabeth and James I., were of the best blood of the Principality. One of the most flowery pedigrees in Dwnn's Visitation is that of Thomas Griffith, Lord of Lampeter. Lampeter is one of the ancient manors of the county of Cardigan, the lord of which enjoyed, and still enjoys, divers inalienable rights and privileges. worthy lord of Lampeter, I need scarcely observe, was not a peer of the realm. Thomas Griffith is thus heralded by Lewys Dwnn,—"Thomas Gruffydd, Arglwydd Llanbedr Pont Esteven Mawr, a Saint Kler, ag Aberaeron, a ar Dustus or Pies ar Kwrwm," that is to say, in plain English, "Thomas Griffith, Lord of Lampeter Pont Stephen the Great, and Saint Clear's, and Aberaeron, and Justice of the Peace and Quorum." The pedigree runs up to Roderick the Great, Prince of Wales in the ninth century-Rodri Mawr Towyssog-through Cadifor ap Dinawal.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Griffith was entitled to quarter no less than thirteen shields in his escutcheon, so many streams of noble

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rev. Rowland Williams's Sermon on the Death of Thomas Phillips, 1851.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The more correct way of spelling this name would be Dyfnwal.

Welsh blood met in his veins; and there is no question but that he was a man of great territorial possessions and influence, this

worthy lord of Lampeter.

I have said that Thomas Griffith, Lord of Lampeter, was descended from Cadifor ap Dinawal. A great number of the county families trace their origin to Cadifor, and he is connected with the town of Cardigan by an act of bravery that will transmit his name to the latest posterity. He was the Picton of his day. In a MS. formerly preserved at Alltyrodin, we have the following:—

"Cadifor ap Dinawal, a man of great valour and conduct, having taken the castle of Cardigan from the Earl of Clare and the Flemings by scalado, was honoured by his prince, who was also his first cousin (viz., the great Lord Rhys, Prince of South Wales), for that service, with these arms (viz.)—sable, a spear's head embrued between three scaling ladders argent, on a chief gules a castle triple-towered of the second. He was also rewarded with divers territories, and entitled Lord of Castell Hywel, Pantstreimon, and Gilfachwen, in the parish of Llandyssil, in the county of Cardigan; he married Catherine, daughter of the said Lord Rhys." 5

With saying that the taking of Cardigan Castle, here referred to, took place probably about 1164, in the reign of Henry II., we bid the gallant knight adieu for the present, and return to Cadifor's descendant, Thomas Griffith, lord of Lampeter, whose pedigree we give in full, as it is seen in Dwnn's Visitation of Wales, vol. I. p. 65.

## Llanbedr Pont y Steven.

Gwehelyth Tomas Gruffydd Sgwier ag Arglwydd Llanbedr Pont Esteven mawr a Saint Kler ag Aberaeron a ar Dustus or Pies ar Kwrwm.

1588.—Tomas mab ag aer Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap David ap Llewelyn ap Gwilim Lloyd ap Gruffydd goch ap Rys ap Rydderch ap Kydivor ap Dinawal ap Gwynn ap Aelaw ap Alssur ap Tudwal ap Rodri Mawr Towyssog.

Y Priodossau ynt yr rain.

1. Kydivor ap Dinawal, arglwydd Kastell Howel a briododd

Katrin v. yr Arglwydd Rys.

2. Rydderch ap Kydifor a briododd Sioned v. Syr Aaron ap Rys ap Bledri o Vorganwg, marchog oedd Syr Aaron hwn o grefydd.

4 Vide Note in Lewis Glyn Cothi's Works, Dosp. IV. iv.

<sup>5</sup> It is right to say that Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick remarks that it may be justly questioned whether the event was not thus commemorated in later times, as such a charge is far too complicated for the period to which it is assigned.

3. Rys ap Rydderch a briododd Gwenllian v. Llewelyn ap Owain arglwydd Iskoed kerdin ag i Dewdwr o dad i dad.

4. Gruffydd goch ap Rys a briododd Katrin v. Syr Elidur ddu marchog o grefydd; ag ef oedd o Vrien Reged o dad i dad.

5. Gwilim ap Gruffydd goch a briododd Dyddgu v. Tomas ap

Llewelyn ap Rys ap Llewelyn ap David o Gaio.

6. Gwilim Lloyd ap Gwilim a briododd Gwyril v. ag aeres i Gruffydd gethin ap Mredydd ap Llewelyn ap Rys ap Hoelwyn o Fuellt, ag ef oedd dad i dad o Lystan brenin Fferlex nai Henfordd.

7. Llewelyn ap Gwilim Lloyd a briododd Lleuku v. Ieuan

Lloyd ap Ieuan ap Gruffydd hir o Waithvoed dad i dad.

8. David ap Llewelyn ap Gwilim a briododd Lleuku v. Ieuan ap Siankyn Lloyd o Gemais ap Ieuan Vychan ap Ieuan Lloyd

ap David voel ap Einion ap Owain ap Robart.

9. Ieuan ap David ap Llewelyn a briododd Gatrin (aeres Llanbedr) v. Jankyn Rys ap David ddiwaethaf ap Tomas ap David ap Gronwy goch arglwydd Llangathen.

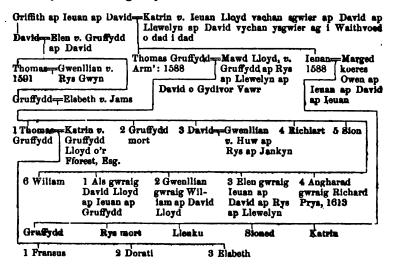
Mam Gatrin hono Marged v. Gruffydd ap Nikolas.

Mam Marged hono merch Syr Tomas Perot marchog.

Mam Siankyn ap Rys ap David merch (aeres y Gilvachwen) Siankyn ap Rys ap David ap Howell goch ap Rys Voel ap Rys ap Rydderch ap Kydivor ap Dinawal.

Mam hono a gwraig Siankyn ap Rys oedd . . . . . merch ag aeres Gruffydd ap Rys Gwinionydd ap Rys ap Llewelyn ap

Hoelwyn o Fuellt ag i Lystan.



Arvau Tomas Gruffydd Ysgwier yw—1. Pais Kadivor ap Dinawal; ail pais Tudwal ap Rodri, 3. Rodri, 4. Gruffydd Gethin o Lystan, 5 pais yw Gronwy, 6 Elystan, 7 Dinawal, 8. Gruffydd ap Rys Gwinionydd, Elystan 9 Rys ap Llewelyn Chwith, 10 Mredydd ap Tomas ap Llewelyn Esgwier ap Owen, 11. Ffylib Ivor, Gwaithvoed, 12. Llewlyn ap Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Ierwerth Drwyndwn, 13. Owain Gwynedd.

Dated 3 dai off Desember Ano R. R. Elsbeth 34 Ano D' 1591.
THOMAS GRIFFYTH.

In the list of the sheriffs of the county of Cardigan we find the name of "Thomas Grifith, of Maes y velin, Esq.," in the year 1575, in the reign of Elizabeth. This is probably Thomas Griffith, Senr., who appears in the above pedigree of Lewvs Dwnn. The principal residence of the lords of Lampeter was called Mynydd Hywel, which stood on the western side of the river Croyddin, near the farm now called Pontfaen, a little below the town of Lampeter. Tradition points out the remains of a causeway, from the western door of the church, that led by a stone bridge to the mansion-house. In a MS. containing the genealogies of the principal families of Cardiganshire, Caermarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, the property of Mr. Evans, of Llyswen House, near Aberaeron, we have the pedigree of Mynydd Hywel. It agrees in part with that of Lewys Dwnn, given above. and is materially the same as the one seen in Meyrick's History of Cardiganshire. The lords of Lampeter had, perhaps, by the year 1575, when Thomas Griffith was sheriff, removed from Mynydd Hywel to Maesyfelin, or they may have kept both places in hand.6

We shall now cite the genealogy of the Lloyds of Castell

<sup>6</sup> In the works of Lewis Glyn Cothi, who flourished in the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., there is a poem addressed to one *Hopcyn ap Sion*, of Llys Newydd, on the banks of the Tawy, from which it appears that *Hopcyn* was lord of Lampeter. We cannot find his name in the genealogies which we have seen. The lines referring to the lordship of Lampeter, and his other territories, run thus,—

"I Hopcyn, er hyn, y rhawg Ydd a gwledydd goludawg; Gwlad Geredig, a Chadell; Gŵyr; a Sir Gaer y sy well. Iddaw y mae, arglwydd mên, Daiar Llanbedr, oll unben. Saint Clêr, dan ei vaner vo, A swyddau Cemais iddo; Bro Went, Morganwg o'i bron, Bro Wyr, ac Aber Aeron." Hywel, as it is given by Dwnn<sup>7</sup> in the branch of Llanllyr, that we may better understand the root of the family of Maesyfelin, or Millfield, in the parish of Lampeter. We also annex a drawing of the arms of Cadifor and his descendants.



# Llan Llyr Kwmwd Mab Wnion.

	Lloyd Sgwier &c	Dinawal-Katrin v. yr Ai	•	Huw ap Llewelyn
	Rydderch—Sioned v. Syr Aron ap Rys ap Bledri			
	Rys-Katrin v. Sir Elidir ddu ap Elidir ap Rys			
	Gruffydd Goch	=Dyddgu v. Tomas ap Lle Gaio	welyn ap Rys ap Ll	ewelyn ap David o
	Gwilim—Gwellian v. Llewelyn ap Owen Arglwydd Iskoed Kerddin, sol kerddin yn Llandyssil			
		Gwyril v. Gruffydd Gethi Llewelyn (Moelwyn o Bue		Llewelyn ap Rys ap
1	Llewelyn —Lleuku v. Ievan Lloyd ap Ieaan ap Gruffydd hir sgwier o Waithvoed			
	Davydd—Lleuku v. Ieuan ap Siankyn Lloyd o Llwyn David o Gyhelyn Vardd Ar.			
^	Llewelyn Lloyd=	=Marged v. Tomas ap Wa	tkin o Lan Arth o D	ewdwr
	Huw—Siwan o Sgwier o Wait	v. a choeres Gruffydd ap i hvoed	Henri ap Ieuan ap	Ffylib ap Rydderch
	Morgan Lloyd—Elsbeth Sol aeres Lewys ap Henri ap Gwilym ap John ap Llewelyn Ar. 1588 ddu o Wyddno			
	1st, Sian—Thomas Lloyd—2nd, Letys v. Siz v. a choares Huw ap David ap Huw ap Tomas 1588 Richiart Prys, ap Watkyn o Lanarth o Dewdwr 1588 Knt.			
Morgan Lloyd, 1609, mort, 1613 Brichiet Lloyd, 1613				
<sup>7</sup> Vol. i. p. 52.				

Mam Sian v. Huw ap David ap Huw, Marged v. a choares Rydderch ap David ap Rydderch o Bant y Streimon, ap Tomas. Mam hono Katrin v. a koeres Morgan ap Rys ap Tryhaiarn

vachan.

Mam Rydderch ap David oedd merch Rys ap David Llewelyn

ap Gwilim Lloyd o Gastell Howel.

Mam Huw ap David ap Huw, Elsbeth v. David ap Ieuan ap Ffylib ap Rydderch ap Ieuan Lloyd o Waithvoed.

Mam David ap Huw . . . . . merch Ieuan ap David ap

Llewelyn ap Gwilim Lloyd.

Mam Elsbeth v. David merch Rys ap David ap Tomas ap

David ap Llewelyn o Vlaen tren.

Mam Elsbeth v. Lewys ap Henri, Katrin v. a sol aeres Reinallt Morgan ap David vachan o Gaio ysgwier, ag i Veurig koch.

Mam hono merch Syr Jams ap Owain o verch . . . .

Perod i vam.

Mam Lewys ap Henri Ann merch Hopkyn Awbrai o Varcheiniog.

Mam Hari ap Gwilim merch ag aeres Rys ap Gwilim o Lanegwad Vawr o Benllwyn ag i Vron yw.

Mam Siwan v. Gruffydd ap Henri, Marget v. John ap Tomas

ap Gruffydd ap Nikolas.

Mam Gruffydd ap Henri . . . . . merch Gruffydd chwith ap Gruffydd ap Ieuan o Dolvawr.

Plant Morgan Lloyd Ysgwier ynt (1588)—1. Tomas Lloyd, 2. Gruffydd a briododd Dorati v. Jankyn Lloyd Esq, 3. John,

- Ffrawnssys a briododd Elsbeth v. Tomas Ryd, Merched ynt:
   Jan gwraig Reinallt Jankyn ap Morgan ap Rys ap Ffylib ap Rys ap David ap Jeuan o Llwyn David. Ai blant yw Wiliam, Mari, Marged, Elsbeth, Katrin;
   Ann v. Morgan Lloyd mort,
- 3. Siwan v. Morgan Lloyd gwraig Jams Lewys ap Jams Lewys O Genarth, Ai blant yw Tomas, Sion, Marged, Ann.

Mam yrhain val o'r blaen.

Gwraig Sion Lloyd yw Elen v. Siams Lewys Esgwier, brodur Morgan.

2. Gruffydd Lloyd Doctor off Sifl and Kanon, ap Huw a briododd Ann (1597) v. a choaeres John Rastal Siff Justus 3 Ssir Deheubarth.

Mam hono Elsbeth. Ai blant yw Jan Lloyd marw yn verch

heb plant.

1588.—3 Tomas Lloyd Mast off Arts Tresrer Ty Dewi a briododd Frawnsys Midlton Chwaer Marmaduwk Midlton esgob Dewi. Ai blant o honw yw Marmaduwk Lloyd, ai wraig yw Mari Stwdmon; Letys gwraig Tomas Lewys or Gyrn yn Sir Aberteifi, ai vab yw David; Ail gwr iddi yw Harri Studmon 1597.

1613 Plant Marmaduwk Lloyd or Plant Richiart Lloyd David, Thomas, or Plant Tomas Lewys or ( Elnor, Gwenllian. Plant Hari Studman<sup>8</sup>

4. Syr Richard Lloyd Mast off Arts a briododd Marged Koaeres Rydderch ap David ap Rydderch o Bant Streimon. &c., &c.

Dated the 4 dai off Januvary Ano R. R. Elsbeth 31 Ano **Domei 1588** 

> Reseved off Morgan Lloyd X\*

In the course of time the branches of families increase and multiply. Thus we understand that Llewelyn Lloyd ap David ap Llewelyn, of Castell Hywel, whose name we see in the above pedigree, had four sons-David, Gwion, Hugh, John.9

David, the eldest son, settled at Castell Hywel. He was the first member of Parliament for the county of Cardigan. He lived in the reign of Henry VIII. From him sprang the Lloyds

of Alltyrodin, now extinct in the male line.

Gwion married Gwenllian, daughter of Hywel ap Jenkin ap Rhys ap David, of Blaentren, in the parish of Llanybyther, and founded the family of Llanfechan, in the parish of Llanwenog. From this branch the late Major Evans, of Highmead, was

maternally descended.2

John married a daughter of Jenkin ap Hywel Fawr, of Gilfachwen, and settled at Gwernmaccwy. Of this branch six generations are on record in the Rev. H. R. Lloyd's MS. It would appear from Meyrick (History of Cardinanshire) that the Lloyds of Gilfachwen isaf are descended from this branch of the Castell Hywel family.

Hugh Lloyd, from whom the Maesyfelin branch came, settled at Llanllyr, in the parish of Llanfihangel Ystrad. He served the office of high sheriff of Cardiganshire in the year 1567. Hugh Lloyd had four sons and three daughters-Morgan, Gwenllian,

Margaret, Jane, Griffith, Thomas, and Richard.

Morgan, the eldest son, continued the line of Llanllyr, and was sheriff of his native county no less than four times, viz., in 1576,

8 These four lines, with the two after the bracket, are additions, and so confused as to be unintelligible.—Meyrick.

9 Meyrick, in his History of Cardiganshire, and in a note in Lewis Dwnn's Visitation, says that David had four brothers; he is probably correct; but we cannot discover the name of the fourth.

<sup>1</sup> The David ap Llewelyn ap Gwilym Llwyd, to whom Lewis Glyn Cothi addressed two poems (Dosp. III. xxvii. and xxix.), was grand-

father of this David.

Meyrick's History of Cardiganshire.

1584, 1594 and 1599. He married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Lewis ap Henry ap Gwilim. From Morgan Lloyd

sprang the branches of Wernfylig and Ffoshelig.

The other three sons appear to have been brought up at the English universities, probably at Oxford all of them. Two of them filled high and prominent positions in their day and

generation. Griffith Lloyd, the second son, became Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, which post he held from 1572 to 1584. In 1576 he was admitted D.C.L. He also held the King's Professorship of Civil Law, and was for some time Chancellor to the Bishop of Oxford. He was likewise, for a short period, Member of Parliament for the county of Cardigan. It is true that it was lawful at that time for clergymen to sit in the House of Commons; but, although Dr. Griffith Lloyd was Principal of Jesus College, he was not, I believe, in holy orders, as some have supposed. Dr. Lloyd married Anne, daughter of John Rastal, Esq., chief justice of the counties of Radnor, Brecknock, and Glamorgan, by whom he had issue one daughter, Jane, who died sine prole. Dr. Lloyd was a great benefactor to Jesus College, and devised for its benefit several farms situate in the parishes of Nantcwnlle and Llanddewi Brefi, very near his own native place, Llanllyr. He died in Doctors' Commons, 26th November, 1586, and was buried, two days afterwards, in the church of St. Bennet, near to Paul's Wharf. There are a few scanty particulars of Dr. Lloyd in Bishop Kenneth's Biographical Sketches in the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. For the sake of the curious reader we copy them.

" Lans. MS. 982, fo. 99.

" MDLXXXVI.

"Notes upon Dr Griffin Lloyd Regius Professor of the Civil Law in Oxon, who died 26 Novemb. 1586. Fasti Oxen. l sub anno. "1576. July 3. Griffin or Griffith Lloyd Principal of Jesus College. He was afterwards the Kings Professor of the Civil Law, and Chancellour to the Bishop of Oxford. He died in Doctors Commons 26 Nov: 1586, and was buried two daies after in the Church of Saint Bennet near to Pauls wharf London. "Griffinus vel Griffithus Lloyd juris civilis Baccalaureus, familia Lloydorum de Llanleer in agro Cardiganensi fratrum natu minorum alter oriundus. Socius Omnium Animorum anno Sodalitii Jesu Coll. Principalis evasit anno MDLXXII cui post mortem ipsius successit Franciscus Bevans LL.D. anno 1586. ib. Benefactoribus omnibus exemplo præivit Doctor Griffithus Lloyd Collegii Principalis: Siquidem Is prædia quædam in agro Cardiganensi posita, ea lege transcripsi (id anno 1586 factum) ut scholaris

<sup>8</sup> Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.

sive socius unicus cognatione se potissimum attingens inde aleretur, hac tamen servata cautione ne possessiones illæ ad Sodalitium deveni-

rent priusquam Anna conjux et Jana filia fato fungerentur.

"1577. 16 May. The Queen upon surrendry of Letters Patents made 10 Jan. reg. 8 to Robert Lougher D of Law for the office or room of reading the Civill Law Lecture in Oxford with ye yeerlie fee of 401b granteth the same to her lovinge subject Griffith Lloide Doctor of Law and Student in the university of Oxford. T. R. apud Westm. Sexto die Maii."

Thomas Lloyd, the third son of Hugh Lloyd, was brought up to holy orders. He received his education most probably at Oxford, where he graduated in arts. He was appointed Treasurer of the Cathedral Church of St. David's in the year 1574, and had a long life to discharge the duties of his office. Treasurer Lloyd married Frances, daughter of Marmaduke Middleton, Esq., and sister to Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of St. David's. He died in the year 1612, the tenth of the reign of James I., and was buried within the precincts of the cathedral in which he had so long officiated. Those who have visited St. David's will readily remember his tomb on the north side of the altar. is thus described by Mr. Basil Jones and Mr. Freeman, in their valuable work on St. David's:-

"In the eastern arch, on the north side, there is an altar-tomb and canopy of Cinquecento work, bearing a half-recumbent figure, in cassock, gown, and hood, with a book in the left hand. Beneath are two weepers, a male and female, kneeling, the former in a civilian's gown: another figure in the canopy and a shield on one of the spandrils have been torn away; two shields remain, and bear the following arms:-

"I.—Sa: a spear's head between 3 scaling ladders of 4 steps ar:, on a chief gu: a tower of the second.—Cadifor ap Dinawal, borne by Lloyd of Llanllyr.

"II.—In 5 pieces, 3 over 2; 1st, Cadifor ap Dinawal, as before; 2d, Or, a lion rampant reguardant sa: armed and langued gu: -Gwaithfoed Fawr, Lord of Ceredigion; 3d, Sa: a lion rampant or, armed and langued gu.—Tethwalch, Lord of Ceredigion; 4th, Per pale az: and sa: 3 fleurs-de-lis or,— Seyssillt ap Dyfnwal; 5th, Or, a griffin segreant vert,-Elffin ap Gwyddno.

" It is thus inscribed :-

"Marmadvevs Lloyde armiger ivrisconsvitvs et Medii templi socivs hoc fecit in perpetvam Patris svi charissimi Thomæ Lloyd hvivs Ecclesiæ cathedralis thesavrarii Memoriam qvi octavo die mensis martii Año regni serenissimi regis Jacobi decimo Obiit et hic jacet."

Richard also, the fourth son of Hugh Lloyd, was brought up a clergyman, and he is known in the genealogies as Sir Richard

Lloyd.

We have taken great pains to find out how the inheritance of the lords of Lampeter came to the hands of the Lloyds of Llanllyr, but without success. We are quite aware that the pedigree of Thomas Griffith, lord of Lampeter, for a long time runs through the same links, and terminates in the same pencenedl as the families of Castell Hywel and Llanllyr; yet we have no account in whom the family of Griffith became extinct, and how the estate came to the hands of the Lloyds, whether by marriage, purchase, or heirship-at-law. Here is a knot for the genealogists to untie.

Treasurer Lloyd's daughter, Lettice, married Thomas Lewes, Esq., of Gernos, co. Cardigan, from which alliance sprang the Reverend Erasmus Lewes, B.A.,<sup>5</sup> for fifty years Vicar of Lampeter, and Rector of Bettws Bledrws. Erasmus Lewes died in 1745. A volume of his sermons in MS. may be seen at the Temporary Museum of the Association in this town. This worthy clergyman was known among his contemporaries as a Cymric scholar and poet. John Rhydderch, the author of an English and Welsh Dictionary, published at Shrewsbury in 1725, thus acknowledges his obligations to the Vicar of Lampeter:—

"Felly mae 'ngobaith y bydd i'r llyfr hwn fod yn dra buddiol a llesol i drigolion Gwynedd a Deheubarth, o herwydd un o'r tair ysgrifen Eirlyfr a soniais i am danynt o'r blaen, a ysgrifenodd y Parchedig Mr. Erasmus Lewis, Periglor Eglwys Llanbedr Pont Stephan, o gasgliad pa un y mae fy hyder i cewch yn yr arweiniol eiriau gymmaint ag sy'n arferedig ym mhob parth o Ddeheubarth, ac sy ddieithrol i ni Yngwynedd."—Traethodydd, vol. ix. p. 62.

The Rev. W. Rowlands, the author of the article from which the above is quoted, informs me that there is an allusion to some englynion of Erasmus Lewes in the Gwyliedydd, vol. ii. p. 347.

In the register of the parish of Lampeter we find the following

insertion:---

"1740

- "Marry'd Aprill ye ninth Abell Gower of the parish of Kilgerran in ye county of Pembroke and Lettis Lewes of the parish of Lampeter by a license."
- <sup>4</sup> In a note in Lewis Glyn Cothi's works, edited by the Rev. Walter Davies and the Rev. John Jones (*Tegid*), it is said that *Sir*, among the Welsh clergy, was a title given to such as had not graduated at an university. This does not appear to be correct. Sir Richard Lloyd was, as we have seen from the pedigree, Master of Arts.

<sup>5</sup> Erasmus Lewes was great-grandson of Treasurer Lloyd.

This Lettis was a daughter of the Rev. Erasmus Lewes, and Abell Gower was one of the Gowers of Glandofan and Castell Malgwyn, a family well known in these parts. The names of Abel, Erasmus, and Lewes are frequent family names with the Gowers.

Marmaduke Lloyd, the son of Treasurer Lloyd, was perhaps the first of the Lloyds that settled at Millfield. Lloyd was brought up a lawyer. We have seen that he designates himself on his father's tomb Medii Templi Socius. became Chief Justice of the counties of Radnor, Brecknock, and Glamorgan, and one of the judges before the President of His Majesty's Council in the Marches of Wales. He was also Recorder of Brecon. Marmaduke Lloyd was knighted-probably on his being appointed to the Chief Justiceship—and he is known as Sir Marmaduke Lloyd.

Sir Marmaduke was a contemporary of Vicar Prichard, of Llandovery, and from a letter which appears in the Life of Vicar Prichard, published with the new edition of Canwyll y Cymry, they seem to have been on terms of intimacy. The letter gives a very pleasing idea of the character of Sir Marmaduke, and is curious as a specimen of the florid, playing-upon-words style of that period.

"To the woorth my very woorthy frende, mr Rees Pricharde, Chauncellor of the Cathedrall churche of St dds. & canon resident, at his house in Llanymdovery this be dd speedily.

"Woorthy mr Chauncellor

"I received a letter from you this terme, in annawere whereof (Si Scribam carpes, si non scribam triumphabis: At scribam;) I will write an annswere, if but to lett you knowe, how often I reade it (iterum atque iteru) affectinge the sweete style, & wonderinge at the intention of the penman; when I was a scholler, I wondered at those epistles of Tully, the famous Orator of Rome, at Seneca's Epistles, at rare Manuscripts, but to this letter & Epistle of yours, I must plainly say, they are base rudiments, even the very fragments of learninge; so doe you admirably one way (movere) perswade & another way like a true divine (monere) admonishe a Judge so grauely, that every letter thereof shall be to me a praecept leaste I err, (in via pedum, aut in via morum) I must confesse amonge all the (species) of men, none have more neede of direction then Judges, who doe (portare onera reipublicae) & amonge that honourable fraternity, none needs wise direction more than myselfe, a yonge Judge; and without good direction, I may be like Bartimæus, blinde, or like Mephiboshethe lame, & unable to vee the scepter, like the man withe ye withered hande; A. heuy burden is layde upon me, I finde it rather to be (onus) than (honos) god grant I may discharge my duty in my place to the glory of god, & the good of my countrey, weh as you gratiously direct me to doe, so I shall seriously indevour, and those prayses and favourable graces you bestowe on me, I must plede (non cul:) no Judge deserves lesse then myself, and for goodness weh becomes all men, & especially a Judge, I must say withe good Augustine, Boni si quid habeo, a deo sumpsi, non a me praesumpsi, nec in eo quod adhuc non donauit, incredulus, nec in eo quod jam donauit, ingratus; I blesse god for his goodness & hartily wishe that or churche nowe (in senio mundi) when the light of the gospell is growne dimme, may shine gloriously withe suche lights, as your selfe, who are to the people of those parts, A lanterne to their feete, & a light to their paths, yor good life, & true doctrine so agreeinge, that (quicquid agis, aut loqueris est doctrina populorum) tyme nor my occasions will permitt me to write muche to you: and to give youe an elegant annswere to yor eloquent letter, I cannot, (vicisti galilæe) yor golden pen hathe gotten the victory, and I must say (victus), besides in familiar letters, I holde it the best rhetoricke to use no rhetoricke, (carere figuris figurat epistolam:) to write more plainly (more meo) & as all lawyers vse to doe; Had I come home this vacation I had called on you at Llandovery, and given you personall thanks for your many curtesies, for weh you must nowe take literall; with my kinde salutation to yor selfe & yor hopeful son, (tibi, et suis habe me comendatum) & I beseeche you number me amonge those whome you call frends: so

"MARMADUKE LLOYDE.

"Ludlowe castell, the 21 of Marche 1626:"

Sir Marmaduke married Mary, daughter of John Gwyn Stedman, Esq., of Strata Florida. This lady was sister to Lettice, the mother of Sir John Vaughan, of Crosswood, the eminent Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

The fruit of this marriage consisted of three sons and six daughters, viz., Francis, Marmaduke, Walter, Jane, Margaret, Anne, Letitia, Elizabeth, Penelope. These ladies married into some of the best families of South Wales.

Jane became the wife of Thomas Lloyd, Esq., of Plas Llanfair Clydogau. John Johnes, Esq., of Dolau Cothi, Chairman of the Caermarthenshire Quarter Sessions, and Judge of the Small Debts Court for Caermarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire, is a descendant.

The following table will exhibit at one view the different branches that sprang from the union of the ancient lineage of Dolau Cothi & Llanbadarn with the houses of Llanfair Clydogau and Maesyfelin:—

Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, of Maesyfelin, Knt.

Jane, eldest daughter, married Thomas Lloyd, Esq., of Llanfair Clydogau

Elizabeth, daughter and heir, married Thomas Johnes, Esq., of Dolau Cothi, sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1673

Thomas Johnes, Esq., eldest son and heir, of Llanfair Clydogau, sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1705, married Anne, d. of David Lloyd, Esq., of Crynfryn James Johnes, Esq., Henry Johnes, Esq., of Briwnant

Thomas Johnes, Esq., of Llanfair Clydogau, M.P. for Cardiganshire from 1713 to 1722, married 1st, Jane, d. of William Herbert, Esq., of Hafod Ychdryd, 2ndly, Blanch, d. of David Van, Esq., of Llanwern, d. without issue in

Thomas Johnes, Raq., of Dolau Cothi, married Mary Ann d. and h. of Jer. Powell, Esq., of Cwmelan, Radnorshire

Rsq., of Hafod Ychdryd, 2ndly, Blanch, d. of David Van, Esq., of Llanwern, d. without issue in 1733, and was succeeded by his cousin, the above Thomas Johnes, Esq., of Dolau Cothi

Thomas Johnes, Esq., of Llanfair Clydogau, and Croft Castle, near Ludlow, for some time M.P. for Radnorshire, m. Elizabeth, d. and h. of R. Knight, Esq., of Croft Castle John Johnes, Esq., of Dolau Cothi, m. d. of Hector Rees, Esq., died 1781

John Johnes, Esq., of Dolau Cothi,

m. Eliz. d. and

Thomas Johnes, Esq., of Hafod Ychdryd, Lord-Lieutenant, Custos Rotulorum, and M.P. for Cardiganshire, for some time Colonel of Caermarthenshire Militia, d. 1817 without surviving issue Rev. S. J. Knight

h. of Jno. Bowen,
Esq., Mace Llanwrthwl, d. 1815

John Johnes, Esq., of Dolau Cothi,
Chairman of Quarter Sessions, now

Itving, 1860

Thus it appears that Mr. Johnes is the eighth in descent from Sir Marmaduke Lloyd.

WM. EDMUNDS.

Lampeter.

(To be continued.)

#### LETTERS OF EDWARD LHWYD.

(Continued from p. 19.)

Oxford May 2 . . . . . . 1

Dear Veteran

I was in some hopes of receiving a large epistle by the carrier containing . . . . . remarks you threaten'd on the Britannia:—together with the ce(nsures) of such of your acquain-

<sup>1</sup> I conceive the date of this letter to be earlier than of those which immediately precede it, partly on account of the contents, and partly from the writing, and orthography of signature, w for u.—Editor Arch. Camb.

<sup>2</sup> Margin injured.

tance as have perused it. But (ga)ther from Mr. Jones's letter y' you have reserv'd that to be (sent) with the coriander seed by the next return.

Some gentlemen in Glamorganshire have invited me to undertake a Natural History of Wales; with an offer of an annual pension from their County of about ten pounds for the space of seaven years; to enable me to travail &c: but I know not how the gentry of other countrey's (sic) stand affected. If the like encouragement would be allow'd from each county, I could very willingly spend the remainder of my days in that employment: and begin to travail next spring. Nor should I onely regard the Natural History of the countrey, but also the antiquities and anything else (as far as may be consistent with my capacity) which my Lord of Bangor and other competent judges shall think convenient to be undertaken. I have given a hint of it to Mr Ray, who is doubtlesse the best acquainted with Natural History of any living: and his approbation of the design you'll find in his letter enclos'd. I have made no application to any gentleman as yet: but Dr Edwards has promis'd to mention it to Sr Roger Mostyn and some others. In the mean time I would gladly know your thoughts of the matter; and would desire you (as you meet with opportunity) to advise with Mr Mostyn about it. If you suppose it likely to take I shall draw up some proposals, which may contain a short account of the design; if not, I shall not trouble my thoughts farther about it. I must confesse the sallary may at first sight seem too much (!) and the time of seaven years too long; but such as are acquainted with Natural History know there's no good to be done in't without repeated observations; and that a countrey of so large extent cannot be well survey'd, and the natural productions of it duely examin'd, under the space of four or five summers; after which the time remaining will be short enough for methodizing the observations and publishing the History. Besides, during that time I propose to take one journey into Cornwall, and an other into the Scotch Highlands, in order to collect parallel observations; that so I need not rely much on the credit of forreign writers nor overcharge the work with numerous quotations, and spinning out the matter to multiply sheets, as my old friend Dr Plot seems to have done, in both his histories. Another argument for the reasonablenesse of such a sallary is the great expenses I must be at in graving several tables of such natural bodies as are undescrib'd. For if I undertake this task, I am resolv'd to spare no pains nor charges in the performance and therefore unlesse I am enabled to go through with it, 'twould be imprudence to medle with it at all: but I shall say no more at present upon this subject.

A parcel of the mock plants out of Mostyn coal pits, if they could be procur'd without too much trouble, and so packd up as to be carried hither without breaking to pieces, would be very acceptable; because D' Lister and M' Ray have lately advised me to resume ye Synopsis Methodica of the form'd stones of England, from which I had been diverted partly by Camden, but chiefly by a tedious catalogue I have been obliged to make of a vast number of pamphlets and other books as well printed as manuscript, in my custody. We are like to receive either this summer, or the next, a very noble accession to the Museum; for M<sup>r</sup> Coal of Bristow, who has been surveyor to the customs for about forty years, and has a collection of natural bodies well near as considerable as that we now have, has offered to give them the University, on condition they'll print a book of his composing, which contains some observations he has made in Natural History; and they are very like to comply with his request. Harry Clement tels me he's unprovided at present of the books you writ for, but is gooeing to London very speedily, where he promises to pick up some y' will please you.

I am Dear Sr. y much obliged and affectionat friend EDW. LHWYD (sic).

My humble respects to Mr Jones. I am sorry for the ill news in his letter. His brother is my deputy here; for Robin Humphreys (to whom I had conditionally promisd it) prov'd very unfit for the place. It's worth about ten pounds a year but his Unkle and Brothers must allow him some helps, otherwise he cannot subsist. An old fr<sup>d</sup> James Harries is prefer'd to Lhan Trisant in Glamorganshire; which they say is worth about 200th a year. You may return me Mr Ray's letter when you have read it, because I paste up all his letters.

For the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr John Lloyd at the Schole in Ruthin.

(The substance of Mr. Ray's letter mentioned above is thus endorsed, in Mr. Lloyd's hand?)

"The sum of Mr Ray's letter was that he had cur'd his diarrhoea by using Naples-biskets boild in milk. 2. His censure upon Dr Woodward's Hypothesis as too magisterially delivered &c. This he confirms by transcribing a part of Dr Robinson's letter, who in his last paragraph says—'Indeed men y' have not been conversant in these studies and enquiries, nor taken any pains to search out and examine these bodies and observe their places and beds cannot be competent judges of these things.' The Dr proceeds—'I take Mr Lloyd of Oxford to be a man of another temper, and of greater both skill and discretion; & wonder his frds. do not press him to publish

his Lithologie, wherein I expect to find matter of fact and soundness of judgments without any chimerical whimsies and castles in the air.' You see the Dr upraids (sic) me, tho not singly, with negligence of the advancement of true and solid philosophy for not importuning you to hasten the edition of your Lithologie. Mr. Ray concludes—'I wish you may find such encouragement from the gentrie as may enable you to undertake the task of collecting materials for a Natural History of Wales; and in time of writing and publishing it, a thing exceeding desirable and for which none so well furnishd with the requisite qualifications of learning, industrie, judgment, and veracity, as yourself, at least as far as I know or have heard. I am

Yr J. R.'"

Dear St

This hopes to find you in perfect health, and brings hearty thanks for your constant kindness. I beg pardon for not answering your last which I can not now find, but shall be hereafter fully at leasure, and very desirous to correspond with you. You have seen I suppose ere this by the postman that the 1st volume of the Archæol. Brit. is printed; and that 'twill be disposed of to the subscribers here next week. I have put myself in some debt by the printing; and, therefore, the sooner the subscribers send up the remainder of there (sic) money, the greater will be there (sic) kindness and my encouragement on another volume notwithstanding the disappointment I have had from a great many of the subscribers towards my travels. The Welsh words you were pleas'd to communicate are printed together with a great many others out of an old glossary from Hengwrt study, communicated by Mr. William Baxter, and out of Henry Salusbury's manuscript Welsh-Latin Dictionary; distinguished with D for Davies, V for Vaughan &c. And having received some Scotish verses out of the High Lands on the Irish English Dictionary, which I had sent thither for their correction I have inserted Robin o Ragad's amongst them in the old British, (or as now commonly calld Saxon letter.) There is before the book, besides the English one, a preface in old Welsh, but new orthography; for both which I must expect to be censurd in your country. To your judgment and that of other scholars I willingly submit the reasons I have given for this orthography. That preface contains what is not touched on in the Book; viz. 1. An account of the letters most anciently us'd by the Britans, where a censure on Mr Wanley in his Preface to the Catalogue of Northern MSS. and on D' Hicks, which very few will apprehend, because I

\* A copy of the original by -----?
ARCH. CAMB., THIRD SERIES, VOL. VI.

believe that book is hardly come into Wales. 2. Arguments for the old Irish nation's being a mixt people of Guydhelod (sic) and Skuydied. 3<sup>17</sup> That the Guydhelod were anciently the inhabitants of England and Wales, and forced thence by our ancestors to North Britain and Ireland. 4<sup>17</sup> That the Guydhelot (sic) or (as the Irish would pronounce and anciently write the word) Cælot were a colony of the old Gauls, whom therefore Cæsar calls Celtas. 5<sup>17</sup> That the Skuydied or Scoti came from Spain. 6<sup>17</sup> Observations on a passage in the British Triades relating to a British colony in Gascoigne. All the arguments us'd is the agreement of languages, viz. the Irish with ours, and that it agrees with the Celtic rather more than ours does. Another part of the Irish with the Cantabrian or Biscay-Spanish; and a comparison of ours with the Gascoigne. I am

Dear Sr

Y' affectionat friend and humble servant

E. LHUYD.

(No address to this copy of a letter; it is evidently of earlier date than those just preceding it in Mr Wynne's collection.)

Dear Sr

(Nine lines at the commencement of this letter are torn off.)
—Mr Robinson: I suppose the binding will come to about 4s. a book on account of the maps; so you must send Argent accor-

dingly.

I am glad to find your conjecture so agreeable with myne (sic) about the Brasse instruments. That they were Bolt heads of Roman Catapultæ, was the opinion of an Italian writer Lodovico Moscardo: whom Dr Plot has also followd in his History of Staffordshire: but I have ventured, as you'ld see in the perusal of Caernarvonshire, to make some doubt of it. The truth is. I always suspected them, as you doe (tho I have not expressed it on this occasion) to have been Roman Tools used by labourers either in mines or quarries or both; but you'l answer, 'tis strange the Romans should use brasse tooles. Be it what it will, the figure is not erroneous as you imagin, but very faythfully taken from one I have by me; and I doubt not but to be satisfied, one time or other, of the true use of it. You'l find I have publish'd several other things, whereof I could give no satisfactory account. but I am not at all ashamed of that; and I think there are, and always were, too many writers unwilling to acknowledge their ignorance, & therefore loath to give us the bare relation of several things remarkable, because they knew not the causes of them For my part when I think I know causes I adde them; and when I dont the Reader will have the pleasure of discovering

them. If I could find any use for the supposed daggers in mines, I should be apt to conclude them also tooles. For one of them was found in an old Lead mine (supposed to be Roman) calld Budheu Gwenhwyfar at Lhan y Mynych: and the rest were found in rockie places both in Wales and Cornwal. Mr Mostyn and you say some of them are gilded; but of 20 pieces that I have there's not one of them so: some golden spots they have; but file any of them where broken & they'l also appear so. You seem to presume in your last that I understand not what a catapulta was. Well, in such matters we must submit to Veterans; others I could tel you that I am not unacquainted with Justus Lipsius De Machinis &c. I stil suspect the urn at Glodhaith was but an Indian or Portugal Ewer lost in a wrack; for I learn from Mr Wyn's son, now at Jesus, that it was found amongst the Gwmmwn: at leastwise it was unfit for an Urn: for in several urns I have found bones; but none could be put in this because of the mouth (sic) there's a kind of sandbox which would not admit of them. You must give us some farther directions what books to send you and Mr Robinson: I spoke to Harry Clements about it who supplies Mr. Davies: and he's willing I find to send you books provided you pay carriage to and again: and also buy somthing considerably (sic). Pray give my humble respects to Dr Foulks and thanks for his civility and kindnesse to me, express'd to my friend Mr Wyn. I understand he has found a plant in flower in Snowdon, which I have mention'd in Mr Ray's Synopsis, but with the addition that I never saw the flower of it. I suppose 'tis either the Subularia Lacustris Alpinorum Lacuum, or the Bulbosa Alpina juncifolia; but would gladly be informed whether of them; and would be much obliged to him for the best description he can give of the flower in your next letter. I am Dr Vetn

Y' most affet Frd.

EDW. LHWYD.

To save unnecessary charges I'll write two or three lines to Hugo Jones the other side.

For the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr John Lloyd Scholemaster at Ruthyn in denbighshire. Chester post

## For Mr Hugh Jones.

Sr

I rec<sup>d</sup> both your letters tho I deferr'd too long my answer to your former; because I intended to give you an account when D<sup>r</sup> Edwards, who is now in Hampshire, would return, that you might time your journey accordingly. After all this delay I can give you no certain information; however I would have you come up as soon as you can, but crura thymo plena: tho if

Thymum can not be had, we must be content with serpillum. Were you here at present I could find you good employment under Sr Timothy Tyrrel's son as an amanuensis; he having undertaken the Annals of Britain from Brutus to our time, which he intends to publish in four several tomes in folo and apply'd himself to me for an Amanuensis. I have written to Jack Davies two days since to secure you Burford Schole if possibly he can. Your former letter was very instructive, and had not a word in it superfluous. The inscription was very acceptable, but it quite puzles (sic) me. I never saw this character W in old inscriptions before: tho som thing like it you may remember in that at Voelas: but this being the builder of the Church I doe not suppose very ancient. The last two lines I read O delofeu qui P. M. [an Piæ Memoriæ?] inedificavit hanc ecclesiam. I dare not be confident of the first word; but for the rest I am well satisfied. The inscription at Lhan Golhen Abbey is mention'd in one of Usher's letters; and Aubrey says the stone was falln down if not broken several years since. You mention Lhyn y Bala at Lhan Berys, which I suppose is a mistake for Bryn y Bala. shall adde onely my humble respects to y' brother and sister: and that for his part he's an idle varlet for never writing to his and y playn frd and servt

E. LHWYD.

(To be continued.)

#### CORRESPONDENCE OF ANEURIN OWEN.

[From a Copy among the Papers of the late WILLIAM OWEN, Esq., of Tan y Gyrt.]

To the Secretary to the Record Commission.

Dec. 28 1831.

Sir,—I have just received your letter, and hasten, according to your request, to acknowledge the receipt of it; and to furnish you with an account of the progress made in editing the works entrusted to my care, for the information of His Majesty's Commissioners, to put them in possession of the data necessary for settling any new arrangements regarding them.

During the prior years of my engagement, understanding that it would be expedient to collect materials for elucidating the history of Wales, I visited all the libraries to which I could procure access, and I was in this respect singularly fortunate in possessing the confidence of the proprietor of the Hengwrt collection, the most extensive and important in Wales, which,

since the time of its founder, Robert Vaughan, Esq., had been inaccessible, a circumstance that had been a subject of regret to Llwyd the author of the Archæology and many other literary persons. From this collection I procured a transcript of the Liber Landavensis, and prepared it for the press; many most important copies of the Welsh laws not employed by Wotton in his Leges Wallicæ, more especially one MS. of the 12th century, which I adopted as the groundwork of the Venedotian code: and some curious chronicles, fuller than the Latin chronicles in the British Museum, and that at the end of Domesday Book. From this and other sources I prepared the edition of the Welsh laws, which I found it necessary to arrange in three codes, viz., the Venedotian peculiar to North Wales, the Dimetian peculiar to West Wales, and the Gwentian a code more peculiarly applicable to Glamorgan; as this arrangement is novel and not hitherto suspected to have obtained, an elucidation of this circumstance will be necessary in the preface.

In regard to chronicles my first care was to prepare them down to 1066, a period which has been chosen to close the early works; subsequently I transcribed them down to about 1282 when they generally terminate at the conquest of Wales, although some small additions occur in some MSS.; this part is likewise ready, and would not unappropriately be prefaced by some account of these compilations, and of Caradog of Lancarvan, the author to whom parts of them have been generally attributed.

As a source of historical information some documents entitled

Historical Triads have been prepared for the press.

The churches in Wales receive, in general, their appellations from Saints, and old MSS. remain under the title of Genealogies of the Saints, which throw great light as to the history of the persons to whom these churches are dedicated, and at what period: these MSS. have been collated and prepared for the press.

As to what has been printed: Nennius has received considerable attention, and all the obscurities, I believe, will be found to have been elucidated. The early chronicles have likewise been printed down to 1066. By the corrections these publications have undergone they will be found to mutually illustrate each other; and it was satisfactory to find that these documents required only investigation, with a proper knowledge of the language to which the dark and mutilated passages had reference, to render their accounts of transactions clear and consistent.

We are at present engaged upon the Venedotian code of the Laws, the two first Books of which have been printed off, and the 3rd Book is in progress with the printer. The difficulties which retard a speedy termination to the printing of these Laws are, the care required in overlooking the various readings, and the deliberation necessary for properly weighing the translation of documents so old, so technical, so far removed from modern observances, and written in a language, at present, so imperfectly understood. Added to this, the collection of between 20 and 30 varying MSS. for this edition, and so disposing the various readings at the bottom of the page in such a manner as to afford the reader the opportunity of consulting any MSS. he may please, has afforded a rather laborious and harassing occupation.

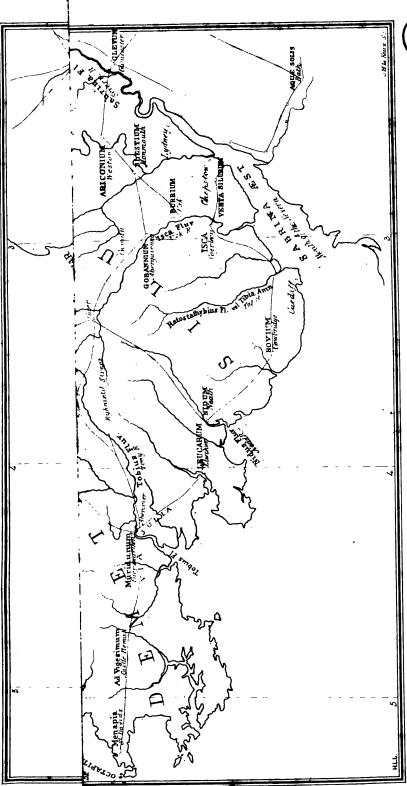
I am, &c.,

Angurin Owen.

#### CAMBRIA ROMANA.—ANGLESEY.

For some years past I have endeavoured to trace the course of the Sarn, a Roman road leading from Talyvoel on the Menai, opposite to Caernarvon (Segontivm), across the Isle of Anglesey to Caergybi, or Holyhead, and the following is a summary of the results obtained:—

It follows the course of the present road from Talyvoel, past Erw Goch, over Sarn Goch by Ty'n y Goedan, beyond which it is very perfect for a short distance; it follows the road to Pen yr Allt, where it turns to the left, and is again seen, in the flat ground below, at Ty'n y Llidiart, Tygwyn and Taldrwst. It is difficult to say through what part of the village of Dwyran it passed; but it apparently crossed the river Braint, a little above the Felyn Wen mill-pool, where there are remains of an old bridge, now some feet under water; a short distance beyond this there is a small portion, tolerably perfect, near Tycerrig; no further traces until you come to Llanfair y Cwmmwd, where there is a piece of the Sarn running north-west towards Cefn Bodengan. It is lost again until within a short distance of Frondeg Farm, where (in 1856) a portion of it, pointing north-east, was very perfect, but has since been removed. It here turned



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BRITANNIA SECUNDA.



again to the north-west, and fell into the road from Newborough to Llangaffo somewhere at the back of Frondeg. probably near where the old inscribed stone now stands. All trace is now lost until you come to Llangaffo New Church, at the back of which a portion is visible for a short distance. After this all traces are lost, but I think it must have again fallen in with the present road to the Holland Arms. I cannot say, positively, that any of it is visible along the course of this road, though there is something rather like it a little on this side of the Berw Gate. Between the Holland Arms and Caint there are no decided traces, unless the slight indications at Tymawr, near Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog (Old Church) and Nant may be supposed to be continuations of it. It must have turned towards Llangefni at or near Caint, as I think it may be traced in the road as you go down into Llangefni. It makes its appearance again, beyond Llangefni, in a road that crosses from the old to the new post road, near Tynycoed, Plas Uchaf, and Ty Llwyd. After this it is totally lost, though it probably followed the course of the road crossing the great Holyhead road at Cefn y How far it followed the course of this road Cwmmwd. it is difficult to say, but I think it must have turned off by Bodrhwy, as it is visible a little beyond this at Ceryg Engan, again at Ceryg Ceiliog and Ty'n y Bont; here its course through the village of Gwalchmai is lost. It again appears near Hafod y Llwyn, and Melin Strydan, Pen Terfyn, Tynewydd Factory, Ty Trannan, Bryn Bychan, Allwyn Goch, Allwyn Ddu (very plain near these last places), and so towards Caer Helen, which it passes a little to the left, then to Ty'n y Buarth, Caerpwll, and Caer Ceiliog. Here I think the Holyhead road falls in with its course. It is impossible to trace it between this and Pont Trepontor, at which point it must have crossed into Holyhead Island. The first indications of it within the island are to be met with near a chapel, not far from a farm called Castell; beyond this its course is lost for some distance; however, a considerable portion of it is visible leading up to the farm of Tref Arthur, and beyond this again along the course of the road until you come a little beyond a very curious sepulchral monument, in a field not far from Tyddyn Bach; beyond this I failed in making out any more of the Sarn, though it probably followed the course of this road by Hên turnpike into Holyhead.

If what is above indicated be marked on the Ordnance map of this district, a tolerably connected line will be made out, varying in its course according to the difficulties presented by the several marshes which it was

forced to turn.

Another line is supposed to have crossed the island from Beaumaris (Bryn Brython) to Holyhead; but the tracing of this is not yet completely determined.

W. Wynn Williams, Jung.

#### BARDSEY ABBEY.—GRANT OF PRAYERS, A.D. 1464.

(From the Original amongst the Hengwrt MSS.)

Robertus dei paciencià Abbas monasterii Sanctorum de Enlly,¹ et eiusdem loci conventus, carissimis nobis in christo Mevrich Vychan, et Angharat consorti eius,² Salutem, et post presentis vite cursum gaudiis adjungi Spiritum beatorum. Immensam devotionem, quam ob Dei reuerenciam, ad nostrum habitis monasterium, sincere caritatis affectu considerantes, ac pie acceptantes, cupientes quod vobis vices reddi, salutares, vos igitur, proles, vestrique parentes, ad vniuersa et singula nostri conventus suffragia, Tenore presentium, In vitâ pariter, et in morte, recipimus plenam vobis participacionem omnium bonorum spiritualium; Concedendo que per nos et successores nostros operari dignabitur, Clemenciâ saluatoris; Insuper adiicientes vobis de gratia speciali, ut cum venerit obitus

<sup>2</sup> Of Nannau, ancestors to the Nanneys and Vaughans of that place.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is probably Robert Meredith, Abbot of Bardsey, mentioned in Sir John Wynn's *History of the Gwydir Family*.

vestri, una cum representatione presentium, in nostro locali capitulo nuntiatus fuerit, ut fiat pro vobis idem quod pro nobis confratribus, fieri consuevit. Datum in domo nostra capitulari, sexto die Januarii, sub nostro sigillo communi, Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo quarto.

# THE EARLS, EARLDOM, AND CASTLE OF PEMBROKE.

#### No. VII.

(Continued from p. 97.)

#### THE DIVISION OF THE INHERITANCE.

Upon the death of the two last Earls of Pembroke, in 1245, such of the inheritance as did not, upon the failure of heirs male, revert to the crown, was divided between the sisters, and was the subject of a formal deed of partition in that same year, to which deed reference is occasionally made in the public records.

These sisters, coheirs, were five in number, and their immediate descendents, next to be described, were very numerous.

I.—Maud Mareschal, married, first, Hugh le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and had issue, Roger and others. She married, secondly, William Earl Warren and of Surrey, ob. 1240, by whom she had Earl John, who married Alice le Brun, half sister to Henry III.

Maud survived her brothers and two husbands, and had Catherlow or Carlow, in Ireland, and Hampsted-Mareschal, Berks, said by Milles to have carried the mareschalship. 3rd October, 1245, she had her share in her brother's lands, saving the dower of Ela? the earl's widow; and, in the same year, the custody of the castle of Cumburg (Dug. Bar. i. 77); and, 30 Henry III., on the death of her last brother, she had, as "marescalla," from the king in person, livery of the mareschal's rod, and power to sit by deputy in the Exchequer. (H. of E. i. 47.) She delivered the rod to her son Roger. (L.

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Hib. 33.) She also had custody, until her death, of the castle of Striguil.

Milles gives her a third husband, Walter, Lord Dun-

stanvill, who died 1269.

Maud died 27th March, 32 Henry III., 1247–8, and was buried, and had an obit at Tintern. Her four sons, Roger, Hugh, Ralph, and John, bore her corpse into the choir. Roger had respite, 19th July, 1249, of £40, due as his share of the dower of Alianor, Countess of Pembroke. (Rot. C. R. ii. 57; and Exc. e R. F. ii. 33, 57.) In 1252 he claimed, as Earl Mareschal, the palfrey of the King of Scotland, knighted at his marriage with the daughter of Henry III. at York. This was disallowed, because the king was of rank to knight himself. Roger died 1270, and was succeeded as Earl Mareschal, and Lord of Catherlow, by his nephew Roger, who died s. p. 1306.

From Maud Mareschal also descended Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who died 11 Henry VI., seized of the castle, manor, and borough of Striguil, and the manor of Todenham. He also had Carlow. (Dug. Bar. i. 131; Milles.)

II.-Joan Mareschal, married Warine de Munchensy. Her descendents had the Earldom of Pembroke and

Lordship of Wexford.

III.—Isabel Mareschal married, first, in 1214, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who died 14 Henry III., leaving Earl Richard, who had Kilkenny, and died 1262. A daughter, Isabel, married Lord Braose, of Gower; and another, Susan, married Gwenynwen, Lord of Powis, and was mother of Griffith, Prince of Powis, and of Gilbert de la Pole. (Milles, 355.)

Kilkenny remained in the De Clares, and was granted by patent, 1296, to Ralph de Monthermer, who married Joan, Countess Dowager of Gloucester. (Lib. Hib. 33.)

Isabel Mareschal married, secondly, in April, 15 Henry III., Richard, Earl of Cornwall, a younger son of King John. She was his second wife, and was mother of John, Henry, assassinated at Viterbo, 56 Henry III., Richard,

and Nicholas, all of whom seem to have died s. p., since his successor, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, was son to Saunchia, the earl's third wife, who died 1272. (Dug. Bar. i. 765.)

Isabel died, in childbed, at Berkhampstead, 1239-40. While dying she cut off the tresses for the beauty of which she was so celebrated, and confessed her sins. Her child, Nicholas, according to M. Paris, died with its mother, and both were buried at Beaulieu, a Cistercian

abbey in Hampshire, founded by King John.

IV.—Eve Mareschal married William de Braose, of Bergavenny, Lord of Brecknock, who was put to death by Llewelyn, 14 Henry III., in which year she had her dower. The wife of a De Braose, notwithstanding their episcopal relative of Hereford, could scarcely expect a peaceable life, and she shared the royal displeasure with her brother Richard. However, 18 Henry III., she was in favour; and, 24 Henry III., her brother Gilbert was directed to surrender to her children the barony of St. Clere. She probably had died in that year, and thus did not share in the wealth that flowed in upon her children.

She had five daughters, Mareschal and Braose coheirs. They had, besides much other property, the castle of Haverford, and the Irish lordship of Ossory. (L. Hib.

33; and Dug. Bar. i. 182.)

The daughters of Eve Mareschal were

(A.) Isabel Braose, who married David, son of Prince

Llewelyn, and died s. p.

(B.) Maud Braose, who married Roger Lord Mortimer, of Wigmore, (Plac. de Q. W. 273,) son of Lord Ralph by Gwladys Ddu, daughter of Prince Llewelyn. He was Lord of Melyenydd, jure uxoris (Jones's Brecon, iii. 135); and, 31-2 Henry III., had livery of certain Mareschal lands in England and Ireland. He died 10 Edward I., 1282. Maud was alive, and appears as a Mareschal coheir, 21 Edward I. Jones says she finally married Brian de Brampton.

(c.) Eve Braose, who had Totnes, (Pole's *Devon*, 44,) Abergavenny, and Kilgerran, and the service of Meredith

ap Rhys-Crik for Emlyn. She married William, son and heir of William de Cantelupe, and brother to Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, who gave his arms to that see, and was canonized 34 Edward I. They had a son George, lord of the honour of Totnes, set. 3 years at his father's death, and in ward to Eleanor, wife to Prince Edward, 55 Henry III., and who died s. p., 3 Edward I., and two daughters coheirs.

(a.) Melicent de Cantelupe, ob. 27 Edward I., who had Totnes, (Pole's *Devon*, 12,) married, first, Stephen de Montalt, and had issue Richard de Montalt, enumerated as a Mareschal coheir; and, secondly, Eudo, or Tvo de la Zouch, who had the wardship of Agatha Ferrars, also a coheir, which he sold to Roger Mortimer, who married her to his son. Totnes remained in the male line of Zouch until forfeited, temp. Richard II. (Pole, 12.)

They had issue William Lord Zouch, of Haringworth, who married Matilda, daughter and heir of John Lord Lovel, by Isabel, daughter and coheir of Ernald de Bosco, (Pole, 294,) and who appears, 9 Richard II., as a coheir of Mareschal and Cantelupe. (Rolls of P. iii. 79.)

Melicent de Cantelupe is called De Montalt, 12 Edward I.; and, 21 Edward I., she appears as widow of La Zouch.

- (b.) Joan de Cantelupe, the younger coheir, married Sir Henry de Hastings, her maternal first cousin, and will be noticed afterwards as ancestress of the Earls of Pembroke of that name.
- (D.) Eleanor Braose inherited the baronies of Brecknock and La Hay. She married Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and probably died 1251, as in that year Humphrey had livery of her inheritance as a Mareschal coheir. He died 1275. (Dug. Bar. i. 181; Exc. e R. F. ii. 113.) The heirship had already been claimed, 32 Henry III., by the sisters Maud, Eve, and Eleanor. (Cal. R. P. 22.) Humphrey and Eleanor had issue Humphrey, who died v. p., leaving Humphrey, Earl of Hereford and Essex, who, in 12 and 21 Edward I., appears as a Mareschal coheir. He died 1297.

(E.) Ada Braose married Henry Lord Hastings, and was mother of Sir H. de Hastings already mentioned.

V.—Sybil Mareschal had Kildare and Luton on the death of Countess Eleanor, in 1274. This latter manor, with Woodspene and Newbury, passed to Mohun, Kyme, and Hugh Mortimer, with their wives. (Lyson's M. B. Beds., 107, 317, 371.) She married William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, ob. 1254. He had previously married Margaret, daughter and coheir of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, by whom he had issue male. He died 23rd March, 1254, leaving, by Sybil, seven daughters, coheirs of their mother.

They were

(A.) Agnes de Ferrars, who had Kildare, and married William de Vesci, of Alnwick, and had William de Vesci, a Mareschal coheir in 1292-3.

(B.) Agatha de Ferrars,<sup>2</sup> for whose marriage Eudo la Zouch gave, in July, 1253, 150 marks to the king, she being a royal ward as a Pembroke coheir, (Eyton, iii. 39,) married, 1255, Hugh de Mortimer, of Chelmarsh, co. Salop, younger brother of Roger, who married his wife's first cousin, Maud de Braose, and son of Ralph, ob. 1246, fifth Baron of Wigmore, by Gwladys, daughter of Prince Llewelyn. He had j. u. seizin of homage in Flemingstrasse, co. Pembroke. He lost a horse in the king's service at Kenilworth, and, therefore, 26th October, 1266, a debt of forty marks due upon the Mareschal estate was forgiven to his wife and himself. (Exc. e. R. F. ii. 447.) Agatha had one-seventh of the Ferrars share of the Pembroke inheritance. As Agatha de Mortimer, she had summons to send service at a muster in 1277, and died 1306. (Eyton, iii. 39.)

Their son, Henry of Chelmarsh, did homage as heir of his mother in 1306, and died in 1317, leaving issue male.

(Eyton, iii. 39.)

(c.) Sybil de Ferrars married Franco de Bohun, of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Eyton calls Margaret his second wife. (iii. 39.) <sup>2</sup> Seventh and youngest daughter. (Eyton, Salop, iii. 39.)

Midhurst, who was called on by the sheriff of Sussex to pay £217 2s. 10d. on the Mareschal inheritance. (Madox, i. 48.)

They had issue, John de Bohun, ob. 12 Edward I.; who was father of James de Bohun, who married Joan, daughter and coheir of William de Braose, of Bramber.

(n.) Isabel de Ferrars married, first, Gilbert Basset, of Wycomb, who seems to have died s. p.; she married, secondly, Reginald de Mohun, of Dunster, his second wife. Reginald by his first wife, a sister of Humphrey de Bohun, had issue, John de Mohun, who married Joan de Ferrars, and had issue.

Isabel seems to have had by Reginald de Mohun, Sir William de Mohun, of Mohun's-Ottery, who left issue, Maria, who married Sir John, and had issue, Sir Nicholas Carew, who died s. p., (Pole's *Devon*, 128,) and Alianor de Mohun, all Mareschal coheirs.

Early in February, 41 Henry III., Reginald de Mohun and Isabel, a coheir of William Earl Mareschal, are summoned to answer for £217 Os. 10d., being their portion of debt of £400 (Madox, i. 48); and he held ten hides of land in Mildehall in frank-marriage with Isabel, given by William Mareschal originally with his daughter. (T. de Nev. 153.)

Isabel married, lastly, Roger de Leybourne.

(E.) Eleanor de Ferrars married, first, William de Vaux, who died s. p.; and, secondly, Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester. De Vaux was fined, 31 Henry III., 200 marks for marrying without the king's consent. He then, on certain conditions as to payment, was allowed livery of the inheritance. (R. F., 31 Henry III.; and Exc. e R. F., ii. 15.)

(F.) Joan de Ferrars, who married, first, William d'Aguillon; and, secondly, John Mohun, of Dunster, half-brother to her penhew William de Mohun

half-brother to her nephew, William de Mohun.

(g.) Maud de Ferrars, who married, first, William de Kyme; secondly, William de Vivonia; and, thirdly, Aymer de Roche-Canard.

Besides the five recognized Mareschal coheirs, mention

is made of

VI.—Ela Mareschal, who married John Mowbray. (Jones's Brecon, iii. 135.)

The extreme subdivision of the Mareschal estates appears by the frequent references made to it in the records, and the various enumerations of the coheirs. Thus, 3 Edward I., occur a series of precepts to the sheriffs of Bucks, Somerset, and Berks, to take seizin of the manors of Crendon, Milverton and Otterscombe, Newbury, Speenhamland and Woodspene, with a view to their partition between certain parties. (A. R. O. i. 25.) Thus also, 12 Edward I., there were Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, Roger, Earl of Norfolk, Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, William de Valence and Joan his wife, Aymer de Roche-Canard and Maud his wife, Agatha and Maud de Mortimer, Agnes de Vesci, John, a minor, son of John de Mohun, John, a minor, son of William de Mohun, John, a minor, son of John de Bohun, Alianor and Alice, minors, heirs of William de Mohun, John de Hastings, and Melicent de Montalt. All these were interested in the manor of Earls-Wytham, Berks. Edward I., the coheirs were the Earls Gilbert, Roger, and Humphrey, William and Joan de Valence, William, son of William de Vesci, Agatha and Maud de Mortimer, Alianor and Maria, minors, daughters of William de de Mohun, John, a minor, son of John de Bohun of Midhurst, John, son of John de Bohun, Maud de Kyme, John de Hastings, and Melicent, who was wife of Ivo de la Zouch. (*Plac. de Q. W.* 81, 359.)

40 Edward I., the heirs of Walter, Earl of Pembroke, were Bigod and Valence as above, Richard, Earl of Gloucester, the heirs of William de Ferrars, of William de Vesci, and the other heirs of Sybil de Ferrars, the heirs of Roger Mortimer and Maud his wife, of Eva de Braose, of William de Cantelupe and Joan his wife, of Humphrey de Bohun and Alianor his wife, of John de Monte, Countess Warren, and the Countess of Striguil. (Cal. R. P. 180-3. Seldom has a great inheritance been so completely broken up as was that of Mareschal, within forty years after the death of the last earl.

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#### ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WELSH.

ATTEMPTS have been made, in modern times, to prove that the general belief of the Welsh being the direct descendants of the Ancient Britons is entirely erroneous, and that the British Isles were colonized by the Gwydhelian race, or Irish, long before the appearance of the Cymry, or Welsh. As the subject is in every way interesting, and important for historic truth, it is within the scope of the Cambrian Archæological Association to have these theories carefully examined.

The first propounder of the earlier appearance of the Gwydhelian race was Edward Llwyd, a laborious and erudite scholar. His *Archæologia Britannica* was published in 1707. In his Welsh Preface he writes to this

effect:-

"The next thing to be proved is that that portion of them called Gwydhelians formerly dwelt in England and Wales. There are none of the Irish themselves, as far as I know, notwithstanding the amount they have written about the history and origin of their nation, who maintain that they were ever possessed of England and Wales. And yet, whoever takes notice of many of the ancient names of rivers and mountains throughout the kingdom, will find no reason to doubt that they were the inhabitants when those names were imposed upon them. There was no name formerly more common on rivers than uysq, which the Romans wrote Isca, and Osca, and is still called throughout England, Ask, Esk, Usk; and Ax, Ex, Ox, &c. Now, though there be a considerable river of that name in Wales, and another in Devon, yet the signification of the word is not understood, either in our language or in the Cornish; and not less vain is it to look for it in the Welsh or British of Cornwall and Britanny, than it would be to search for Avon in the English. The signification of the word in Irish is water. And as the words Coom, Dore, Stour, Tame, Dove, Avon, &c., in England confess that they are no other than the Welsh Cwm, Dwr, Ys Dwr, Tav, Dyvi, and Avon, and thereby shew the Welsh to be their old inhabitants. so do the words Uysk, Lwch, Cynwy, Ban, Drum, Lechlia, and several others, make it manifest that the Irish were anciently inhabitants of those places, for the meaning of the words in their language is water, lake, a chief river, a mountain, a back or ridge, a grey stone."

It is no reproach to the memory of Edward Llwyd to assert that he has drawn his conclusions from erroneous premises, when we know how limited in his time was the field for the study of the Welsh. The chief treasures of the language were locked up in MSS., and in the possession of so many dogs in the manger, who were too ignorant to make any use of them themselves, and too narrow-minded to allow better qualified persons to have access to them. Some of Llwyd's letters, lamenting this difficulty, have appeared in our pages. He never dreamed of the transcendent riches of the Welsh language, as they have been brought to light, by the persevering labour of Dr. Owen Pughe, in his splendid Welsh To him, and his coadjutor, the illustrious Dictionary. Thames Street furrier, Owen Jones, who published so many of the early Welsh documents, the Celtic scholar is under the greatest obligation. By the aid of these works we have no difficulty in proving that Llwyd has committed a fundamental error, in assigning exclusively to Irish, words which will be found, on examination, to be as pure Welsh as any in the language. 1. Uysk is a Welsh word in use at the present day, and though not confined to water merely, Gwysg, Wysg, have always borne the meaning of a stream or current, and this is more appropriate to a river than the Irish uisge, water. 2. Llwch is a pure Welsh word for a lake, and vultures are called Adar y llwch gwyn, birds of the white lake. It also existed in the Cornish Loch, Loh, and the Armoric Louch. 3. Cynwy, chief river, is again pure Welsh. Cyn, in old orthography Cen, first, or chief; the root of Cynt, and Cent, formerly, and Cyntav, and Centav, first, &c., which are also written in Cornish, Cen, Cens, Censa, and in Armoric Cent, Centa. Wy or Gwy is equally Welsh, and enters into a host of words connected with water, as Gwydh, a goose, Hwyad, a duck, Gwyach, a grebe, Gwymon, sea tang, &c. There is not the least necessity therefore to have reference to the Irish cean, a head, and uisge, water. 4. Ban, that which is high, or conspicuous, a hill, in Cornish Ban also. This is as pure a Welsh

word as any in the language, adar ban, mountain birds; uchenaid van, a deep sigh; it also enters into the composition of many words; Banoq, conspicuous; Nód banoq, an article in grammar; Banllev, an outcry; Banon, a queen, &c. 5. Drum, a mutation of Trum, is again a pure Welsh word, and in use at the present day; as Trum y ty, ridge of the house. Trum y mynydh, ridge of the mountain; rhych a thrum, furrow and ridge. 6. Lechlia is quoted by Llwyd as the name of a place, which no one can point out at the present day; but that is of little consequence, for wherever it is, it is not an Irish name. Llèch a slab, or flat stone, is pure Welsh, and in common use, and the form is also unchanged, the Irish equivalent being written Leac. Llech is softened in Cornish into Lêh, but the Armoric has Leach. is very modern Irish, and is the corrupted sound of Liath; this again was a late form, the old Irish being Liat, and is the identical Welsh word Luit, gray. This is the orthography in the ancient Cornish, but in modern Welsh it is written Llwyd, and in Armoric Loued. with regard to the words, which Llwyd quotes above, to prove that they are derived from the Welsh exclusively, unfortunately for his theory, every one of them is common to the Irish as well as the Welsh. 1. Cwm, a valley, is the Irish Cumar, and the Gaelic Cumar, though now obsolete in the latter. 2. Dwr, or Dwvyr, is common to the six Celtic languages, being written in Cornish, Dour; Armoric, Dour; Irish, Dur, Dobhar; Gaelic, Dur, Dobhar; Manx, Doour. It is the same word as the Greek τόωρ, and the Sanscrit var, vari, water, dabhra, ocean. 3. Tav, or Taw, meaning silent, (the gently flowing river); in Cornish, Taw; Armoric, Tav; exists also in Irish Tamh, Taoi; Gaelic, Tamh. 4. Dov, in old orthography Dom, tame, or gentle, is again preserved in the Irish Tamh of the same meaning; an original Celtic term preserved in the Greek δαμάω; Latin, domo; and Sanscrit dam. 5. Avon, a river. I cannot understand why Llwyd attributed this word exclusively to the Welsh, being the common Irish, Abhan, or Amhan;

Gaelic, Abhuinn, or Amhuinn; and Manx, Awin. original Celtic term, preserved in the Latin amnis, and the Sanscrit apnas, liquid, which is derived from the root ab, to go, or move, being the same as the Welsh au, ab, abh, av, to go. I think after this elucidation that Edward Llwyd's authority is of no value whatever to support the theory of the anti-Welsh school, and I may now pass The next work of importance, on which great labour has been bestowed in order to arrive at the history of the colonization of these isles, is Chalmers's Caledonia. It was published in three 4to, volumes, in 1807. It is an expensive work, but a valuable one, and to be met with only in a good historical library. Chalmers had the able assistance of Dr. Owen Pughe, and he proves beyond cavil, from the topographical nomenclature, that the original language of the South of Scotland was the Welsh, and not Irish or Gaelic; consequently the Caledonii were of the same race as the Ancient British. far I believe him to be right; but he has gone on to prove too much; for, finding the Picts established in the same country at a later period, he assumes that they were the direct descendants of the ancient Caledonians, and spoke the same language as the Welsh. Edward Llwyd had long before assumed that the Picts were a Welsh race, and for the same reasons. The anti-Welsh school have greedily snatched at this idea, and even improved upon it, denying that the Welsh are descended from the Ancient Britons at all, but that they are immediately derived from the Picts. Now few theories can be upset so readily as the deriving of the Welsh from the Picts, or even making them of the same race. We have the unimpeachable authority to the contrary, of one who lived when the Pictish language was spoken. The Venerable Bede, who wrote down to the year 731, tells us,

"This island at present, following the number of the books in which the Divine law was written, contains five nations, the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins, each in its own peculiar dialect cultivating the sublime study of Divine truth."

As the Scoti undeniably spoke the Irish language,

they could not have been Britons, nor yet could the Picts have spoken the British language. These were an alien race, who are first mentioned by Eumenius, in his Panegyric on Constantius, which was pronounced in A.D. 297. They were the constant enemies of the Welsh race, and in conjunction with the Scoto-Irish, harassed the Welsh kingdom of Ystrad Clwyd with their incursions, until they took their metropolis of Alclwyd, or Dunbarton, in A.D. 756. Bede's account of the Picts appears to me sufficiently decisive of their Scandinavian origin.

"At first this island had no other inhabitants but the Britons, from whom it derived its name; and, who, coming over into Britain, as is reported, from Armorica, possessed themselves of the southern parts thereof. When they, beginning at the south, had made themselves masters of the greatest part of the island, it happened that the nation of Picts, from Scythia, as is reported, putting to sea in a few long ships, were driven by the winds beyond the shores of Britain, and arrived on the northern coasts of Ireland, where, finding the nation of the Scots, they begged to be allowed to settle among them, but could not succeed in obtaining their request. The Picts, as has been said, arriving in this island by sea, desired to have a place granted them in which they might settle. The Scots answered that the island could not contain them both. The Picts, therefore, sailing over to Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts thereof. In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who migrating from Ireland under their leader, Reuda, either by fair means, or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess. Again, Ireland is properly the country of the Scots, who, migrating from thence, as has been said, added a third nation in Britain to the Britons and the Picts. There is a very large gulf of the sea, which formerly divided the nation of the Picts from the Britons; which gulf runs from the west very far into the land, where, to this day, stands the strong city of the Britons, called Alcluith. The Scots, arriving on the north side of this, settled themselves there."—Bede's Ecclesiastical History, chap. i.

I now come to a writer, who may be considered the main stay of the anti-Welsh school, and because no one has taken the trouble of refuting his theories, he has had the whole field to himself, and he is often quoted by the surface-skimming historians of the present day, as having

made some wonderful discoveries. Among others may be named the compiler of the Pictorial History of England. Sir William Betham published in 1834 a large octavo volume, entitled, "The Gael and Cymbri; or an Enquiry into the Origin and History of the Irish Scoti, Britons, and Gauls, and of the Caledonians, Picts, Welsh, Cornish, and Bretons." It is a common observation that writers on Celtic matters are more than half mad, so grossly absurd are some of their theories; but I think after an analysis of this work, that our readers will agree with me that no work on the subject betrays so much insanity. I believe the most learned archæologists are satisfied that the current of colonization, in the earliest times, constantly flowed from the East to the West, and the island of Britain must undoubtedly have been settled from adjacent Gaul, and Ireland from Britain. The first people of these several countries were the Celts. Now attend to Betham.

""Who and whence were the Celtæ?" involved investigation into the history of all the ancient people of Europe, but it was not long before that question was also satisfactorily answered; a strong affinity was palpable between the Celts and the Phenicians, their language, religion, and institutions not only appear to have been similar, but identical; they not only traded with, but colonized Spain, the British Islands, and Celtic Gaul. Thus the long sought problem is solved."—(Preface, viii.) "The discovery that in the Irish a people still exist who speak the language of the Phenicians, is of the first historical importance."—(p. xviii.)

He then proceeds to inform us that the Phenician Celtæ were *first* settled in Ireland, and from thence passed over to Britain and Gaul, and that subsequently Gaul was subjected to their yoke.—(p. 17.) Now what proof does he give of this wonderful theory? Here it is.

"The Phenicians were called so, because they were a nation of sailors, or mariners, as the word Phenice intimates—(being in Irish)—feine, a ploughman, and oice water—a plougher of the sea, a most emphatic and very expressive term. From this last word oice, is derived the ocean—oice, water, and cean head, principal, or chief. The great or chief water or sea. The Pheni-

cians were the *great ploughers of the sea*, or navigators. They were also called *Scuits*, from the same cause—scuite is a *ship*, and a wanderer by sea as well as by land, therefore, the Phenician Irish were called Scoti."—p. 64.

This is the style of his reasoning, and if he had been master even of the Irish language, he would have known that oice and cean would have given the meaning of water-head, not head water. Had he known Welsh he would have seen that feine is only a dialectic variety of gweini, a waggoner, or servant; and aig is also Welsh for sea. Having persuaded himself that the Phenicians spoke Irish, he next proceeds to inquire,—

"' Were the Welsh the Ancient Britons, who combated against Cæsar, and, after the fall of the Roman province of Britain into the hands of the Saxons, took refuge in Wales, and there maintained their independence, and handed down their language, laws, and institutions to their descendants?' I had always considered the affirmative of this proposition true, and although a slight acquaintance with the Welsh language led to the conclusion that it varied essentially from the Gaelic, still it appeared but a variance, and I considered the two languages, in their origin, essentially the same. Finding, however, discrepancies and anomalies in the notion of the Welsh being the Ancient Britons, which appeared irreconcileable, I determined, in the first instance, to examine more particularly the construction of the Welsh language, and was surprised to find that it differed totally from the Gaelic, and had not, in fact, the slightest affinity, unless it could be considered an affinity that a few words are to be found in each tongue, which have the same or similar meaning. Having thus ascertained that the Welsh and Gael must have been a totally distinct and separate people, and, therefore, that the ancestors of the Welsh could not have been the Britons who fought with Cæsar, as they were undoubtedly Gael, the question then arose,—'who were the Welsh, and when did they become possessed of Wales?" -- (Betham, viii.) "Thus did another difficulty present itself, of no small magnitude, which, however, was eventually surmounted. Llwyd and Rowland, two of the most eminent Welsh writers, had unwillingly been coerced into the opinion, that a people who spoke the Irish language were the predecessors of the Welsh in Wales, and gave names to most of the places in that country, and all parts of England; and that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> All this is quite contrary to fact.—R. W.

Welsh names of rivers and places, were only to be found in the eastern and southern parts of Scotland; therefore, it appears clear that the Picts, who inhabited that country, must have been the ancestors of the Welsh, and that they conquered Wales, Cornwall, and Britanny, on the fall of the Roman empire; and calling themselves Cymbri, they were a colony of the Cimbri, a people who once inhabited the neighbouring coasts of Jutland, the ancient Cimbric Chersonesus, the country opposite the land of the Picts. Thus is the origin and history of the Gael and Cymbri placed on its true basis, and that is now in harmony, which heretofore was confused, anomalous, and contradictory."—(Betham, x.)

This is a very ingenious theory, but unfortunately it is the dream of insanity, without a shadow of evidence to support it. I commence my refutation by asserting that Sir William Betham was entirely ignorant of the Welsh language. So far from there being not the slightest affinity, I have no hesitation in saying that the affinity is most intimate. Fully two-thirds of the vocabulary of the Irish language are identical with Welsh, as I have ascertained by absolute enumeration; the idioms and system of forming compounds agree very closely; and the system of forming initial changes is peculiar and common to both. A comparison of the first three verses of Genesis will convince the most superficial reader of their strong affinity. The Irish is,—

"Ar ttus do chruthaidh Dia neamh agus (talamh). Agus do bhi an (talamh) gan fhoirm, agus folamh; agus do bhi (dorchadus) ar aghaidh an aigein. Agus do chorruigh spiorad De ar aghaidh na nuisgeadh. Agus a dubhairt Dia, Biodh solus ann; agus do bhi an solus ann."

The Welsh equivalent will be,-

"Yn twys y creawdh Duw nemh a (daear). Ac a bhu y (dhaear) heb furmh, a folaidh; ac a bhu (tywyllwch) ar agwedh yr eigion. Ac y cerdhodh yspryd Duw ar agwedh yr wysgoedh. Ac y dywedodh Duw, Bid goleu yna: ac a bhu y goleu yna."

(Obs.—The Irish ar has its exact equivalent in the Armoric er, in the. Tus is the Welsh twys, in old orthography tuis, a head, leader, or beginning; the root of tywyso to lead, and tywysog, in Irish toiseach, a

general. The th in chruthaidh is mute, and in Manx is chroo. Talamh if not derived from the Welsh tal, talm, is probably connected with the Latin tellus. Instead of gan fhoirm, which, as well as the Welsh furv, is borrowed from the Latin forma, the Gaelic version has gun dealbh, in Welsh delw. Dorchadus is not Celtic, but Teutonic, the same as Ang.-Sax. deorc, English dark. The old Irish temel being the counterpart of tywyllwch. The Irish solus is considered to be formed from the Latin sol, solis, the sun, in Welsh haul. But the Welsh goleu existed in the old Irish words Gle, Glus, light.) When it is remembered that the Welsh and Irish languages have been distinct for two thousand years, it is very wonderful that the affinity should be so very great between modern Welsh and modern Irish; but if we compare the earliest specimens extant in the old orthography, we shall find not only words but whole sentences almost identical. The following illustrations are from Zeuss's excellent Grammatica Celtica:-

"Ir. is lan chiall (est plena notio). W. is lawn pwyll.—p. 199. Ir. ni po hetoir do rat digail (non erat promptus ad dandam vindictam). W. ni bu hydyr do rodhi dial.—p. 459. Ir. dlegair do comalnad indhuili rechto (oportet implere omnem legem). W. dyledir do comlonad ir-holl raith.—p. 460. Ir. ni do digail for firianu tuccad recht (non ad vindictam in justos est posita lex). W. ni do dial ar wirionau dyccid rhaith.—p. 584. Ir. dauir anisiu cach-dia im-du-chenn ar-chenn-galar (pone hoc quotidie circum caput tuum in dolore capitis). W. doder hunyma (Arm. ann-dra-se) bob-dydh am-dy-benn er-penn-galar.-p. 587. Ir. fiad rigu ocus tuatha (coram regibus et populis). W. gwydh rhiau ac tudau.-p. 588. Ir. is coir do chach guide dee lia chele (est justum cuivis orare Deum pro altero). W. is coir (mod. ys cywir) do bawb gwedhio Duw lle ei gile.—p. 603. Ir. is trissan-de-desin bud duine slan et firian (per hæc duo fit homo salvus et justus). W. is tri ir-dau-ma bid dyn lan a gwirion.—p. 611. Ir. is marb in corp tris na sen pecthu (est mortuum corpus per vetera peccata). W. is marw ir corph tri ir hen pechodau.p. 611.

I might carry on these parallels for the space of many pages, but I think that I have advanced enough to prove that the affinity between the Irish and Welsh was most intimate, and in these early parallels the difference is only dialectical. I have also, I think, proved to demonstration that Sir William Betham was perfectly unqualified to discuss the origin of the Welsh, but I must add one more specimen of his gross absurdities. He writes (p. 396),—

"Had the Roman-Britons been driven into Wales, where, according to Welsh writers, they preserved their independence and their language, they would have carried with them the language, manners, customs, institutions, literature, and civilization of the Romans. What is the fact? The Welsh has less of Latin than the language of any nation that passed under the Roman sway, which is a strong evidence that they never were in permanent subjection to the Romans."

Had the writer been at all acquainted with the Welsh language, he would have known that there are many scores of Latin words borrowed and dovetailed into the language during the rule of the Romans, and there can be no mistake whatever in picking them out. Such are cuvydh from cubitus; cybydh, cupidus; cwran, cothurnus; cweryl, querula; cebystr, capistrum; cyffin, confinis; cyffes, confessio; cymhell, compello; cymmun, communio; cyllell, cultellus; Ionawr, Januarius; Chwevror, Februarius; castell, castellum; menybr, manubrium; padell, patella, &c., &c. (The list in my Dictionary contains above five hundred instances.) Before replacing Betham's book on the shelf of oblivion, by the side of other unqualified pretenders on Celtic subjects, I would wish to inform some of our members, who seem ready to adopt without examination the theories of the anti-Welsh school, that their chief oracle, finding that his bold proposition of making the Ancient Britons to be Irish, or Phenician Gael, met with no opposition, ventured on a higher flight, and, in 1842, he published "Etruria-Celtica. Etruscan Literature and Antiquities investigated, or the Language of that Ancient and Illustrious People compared and identified with the Iberno-Celtic, and both shown to be Phenician, by Sir William Betham, Ulster King-at-Arms, Vice-President of the Royal Dublin ARCH. CAMB., THIRD SERIES, VOL. VI.

Society, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.," 2 vols. 8vo., Dublin. The publication of this work ruined the author's reputation among the learned, and afforded much amusement to the critics, in exposing his shallow pretensions, and most profound ignorance. A few extracts from an admirable review in Blackwood's Magazine, for April, 1845, which is equally suitable to the "Gael and Cymbri," will complete my notice of him.

"Common sense, without any further learning, might have told Sir W. Betham, that till he stood on some surer ground than the coincidence of a single word, even supposing that word a genuine one, it would be the excess of folly to venture on such an application of a modern language; and further learning (if he had possessed it) would have confirmed the suggestion of common sense. With a moderate amount of learning he would have known that many Etruscan words are preserved, of which we know the meaning, but not one of them have the remotest resemblance to any Irish word of equivalent meaning. Besides, the Phenician equivalents for most of the Etruscan words are known, and ought to have been known to any writer undertaking an investigation of either language, and if known to Sir W. Betham, ought at once to have deterred him from this preposterous attempt. With one exception, there appears in none of them the least similarity, either with the Etruscan, or the Irish words of like signification. So also in respect of a number of Gaulish words, the meanings of which have come down to us, and of which no one pretending competency to such inquiries ought to be ignorant, but of the existence of which this vicepresident of a leading literary society of Ireland seems utterly unconscious: But fools will rush in where angels fear to tread; and Ignoramus walks with confidence where Eruditus fears to take a step. Reader, do not think that Christopher is too severe! For what but condemnation and contempt can any rational mind conceive, for a writer so incapable of dealing with even the rudiments of his subject, and yet so presumptuous in the temerity of his ignorance, as to declare that 'till now not a scintilla of light has appeared on the subject of Etruscan antiquities?' We can pardon learned trifling, but when a man wholly unlearned on a subject of the greatest interest to the learned world, presumes to dogmatize in this manner, we strip him in an instant, and have no mercy in exposing to both learned and simple the nakedness of his pretensions."

The great defect in all the writers who have attempted

to give us the early history of the Welsh and Irish is their want of qualification for the task, from not acquiring a competent knowledge of both the Welsh and Irish dialects. The necessary requirements are most obvious; and yet Edward Llwyd and Professor Zeuss, after an interval of a century and a half, are the only two who have acquired a knowledge of both branches. It is quite impossible to attain an etymological knowledge of Welsh without an intimate acquaintance with Irish, nor of Irish without Welsh. After all the crude theories and loads of rubbish written on the history and language of the Celts, it is quite refreshing to meet with such a work as the Grammatica Celtica of Zeuss. This is by far the most profound and accurate work on the subject, and is evidently the result of years of labour and research. The opinion of so accomplished a scholar carries with it the greatest weight, and completely overthrows the idea of the Gwydhelians preceding the Cymry in the occupation of Britain.

"Gallicam autem linguam priscam, quæ post interitum imperii Romanorum et invasionem Francorum sensim cessit novæ Romanicæ ortæ in regionibus Gallicis, si non fuit eadem cum Britannica, huic tamen viciniorem fuisse quam Hibernicæ, hæc præsertim ostendunt: 1. Congruentia sonorum quorundam, quibus differt Hibernica, e. gr. in nominibus Gallicis Litana, Litavicus, quæ sunt adhuc Britannice adj. litan, subst. litau, sed Hibernice lethan, letha, quæ imprimis animadvertitur in vocibus Gallicis et Britannicis, e. gr. in Petuaria, petorritum, pempedula, Penninus deus, Penninum jugum, Epona, Eporedici, Epomanduodurum, convenientibus cum Cambricis petuar (quatuor), pimp (quinque), penn (caput), ep in deriv. epaul, ebaul (pullus), dum Hibernice est c, ch pro p in iisdem, ut cethir (quatuor), coic (quinque), cenn (caput), ech (equus). Non concedo differentiam Gallicæ linguæ a Britannica et congruentiam cum Hibernica in particula su- in compositis Suessiones, Suanetes, cum eadem vox sit Hibernice su-, so-, Britannice autem, ho-, he-, hy-. Hanc enim h pro s esse serioris originis atque s primitivam obtinuisse apud Britannos adhuc Romanorum ætate, docet nomen fluvii Sabrina, quod posteriores Britanni et hodierni proferunt Havren ut nomen populi Brit. Σελγοοῦαι apud Ptol. servat etiam s pro h hodierni subs. brit. hel, helg (Hibern. selg, venatio). Vetustissima autem est haud dubie differentia sonorum p et c, et obtinet in diversis linguis antiquitus, e. gr. in Lat. quatuor, Lituar. heturas et Germ. fidvor (= petuar), Lat. quinque (= cince), Hibern. coic, et Germ.

fimf (= pimp).

"2. Sonorum eadem progressio in lingua Britannica atque in Gallica etiam Romanica, operante amplius linguæ Gallicæ ingenio, quam progressionem nescit lingua Hibernica, e. gr. transeuntem v vel w in gu, gw Britannice et in vocibus Gallicis Romanicis, quæ Hibernice fit f, item præmissam Cambrice i, y, e, ut e Gallice ante conjunctas sp, st, sc. Destitutio mediarum, excussa præsertim g, in Galliæ Romanicis monumentis medii ævi æque vetusta est atque in Britannicis, tenuium adeo destitutionis exempla Romanica Gallica vetustiora sunt quam Britannica.

"3. Terminationes quædam propriæ linguæ Britannicæ, et quas ignorat Hibernica, apparentes in vocibus Gallicis vetustis, e. gr.—en vel-on nota singularitatis in nominibus plantarum γελασονέν, σκοβιήν, titumen, betilolen, et in nomine loci Gallici Aballon (Aballone abl. in Itin., Cambr. vet. aballen, auallen. hod. avallen, malus, arbor),—et terminatio numeri pluralis, in nomine Germanico ex ore Gallico audito a Cæsare Usipetes, quod aliis scriptoribus sine terminatione Gallica est Usipi, Usipii, eodem modo ut apud Plinium sunt juxta Sarumetes etiam Vennonetes,

qui Ptolemæo vocantur Obérvores.

"4. Voces quædam in nominibus Gallicis vetustis et Britannicis, quæ desunt in Hibernica lingua. Præ aliis nominanda est particula inseperabilis gwer-, gur-, gor- usitata etiam in hodierna lingua Cambrica, frequens in nominibus propriis virorum compositis Britannicis medii ævi, Cambricis et Armoricis, ut in nominibus vetustis Gallicis et Britannicis, e. gr. Vercingetorix, vertragus, Vernemetum, Vertigernus, etc. cujus particulæ intensivæ in lingua Hibernica nullum vestigium mihi obvium est.-Frequens est etiam vocabulum cun in nominibus Britannicis Cunobilinus, Cunotamus, Cunomaglus, Maglocunus, ut in Gallicis 'Αρκυνια όρη ap. Aristot. Hercynia silva, Hercuniates (populus Pannoniæ) ap. Plin. haud dubie non differt Cambr. hod. cwn (summitas, altitudo, in compositis adj. altus), ex quo compos. et deriv. erchyniad (elevatio) et deriv. cwnwg (summitas, culmen). Hibern. vet. cnocc (gl. gibber, gl. ulcus) eodem modo ad Brit. cunuc referendum est, ut Hibern. gniu, dogniu (facio) ad Cambr. hod. gwna, gwneuthur, et fere videtur transsumtum, cum non ex aliis Hibernicis vocibus cognita sit eadem radix et servetur c dura finalis, ut in sebocc (gl. capus), cujus forma eadem deprehenditur, non seboch secundum regulam juxta Cambr. vet. hebauc, hod. hebog. Caratacus nomen viri Gallicum in inscriptione obvium ap. Grut. in eadem pene forma est nomen viri Britannicum vulgatissimum, in vetustiore *Caratauc*, in recentiore *Caradoc*, *Caradog*, dum nonnisi semel mihi occurrit Hibernicum *Carthach*."

The great importance of this extract must be the apology for its length. It must now be conceded that the first swarm which left the parent hive in the East, and under the name of Celts peopled Gaul and the North of Italy, were the same race as the Ancient Britons, and it is also now proved to demonstration that their descendants are the Welsh. I proceed further, and venture to assert, not only that the Cymraeg was the first language of Britain (England, Wales, and Scotland), but also the first language of Ireland. I also venture to assert that the Irish language, independently as such, never existed before its formation in Ireland. An analysis of the Irish language proves beyond a doubt that it is a mixture of at least three distinct elements; much the greater portion is identical with Welsh, and if you drew out this Celtic element, two Irishmen could not hold an intelligible conversation for one minute, and in the three first verses of Genesis, as quoted above, talamh, dorchadus, and gan, are the only words which are not common to Welsh. The next element may be called Teutonic, for there are a great many words common to Irish with the German dialects, and which are unknown to Welsh. element seems derived from the Basque, as Edward Llwyd has shown in his Archæologia. All this agrees with Irish traditional history, in deriving successive immigrants from Belgium and Spain. It must be remembered that the Irish contains many of the oldest forms of Celtic words, which have been modified by the Welsh, and there is still a small number of old words in Irish which have been long lost to the Welsh. These often have their counterparts in Sanscrit, where also we find scores of primitive words common to Welsh and Irish. (The importance of studying Sanscrit for the purposes of Celtic etymology will be the subject of a future article.) The Welsh is infinitely the most copious, and contains

more words than all the other dialects added together. In comparing the dialects, it must be borne in mind that the Welsh has been highly cultivated, and euphonized to a greater extent than her daughters, the Cornish and Armoric, and the adoption of a phonetic system of orthography has thrown over it a disguise which has caused the superficial philologist to pronounce the Welsh quite a distinct language from the Irish. There is no essential difference between modern Welsh and the earliest specimens of Welsh in existence. The difference between such examples as modern Welsh vy nghi my dog, and Irish mo chu, appears enormous, but reduce the two to the primitive orthography, and you see at once that the Welsh mi ci and Irish mo cu are identical. After many years of study I am led to the inevitable conclusion, that the Celtic still exists in the Welsh and Armoric languages, and consequently that the Welsh is the oldest living language in Europe.

\* "La race Celtique, établie dès les temps le plus anciens dans l'Europe occidentale, a dû y arriver la première, et selon toute probabilité elle s'est séparée avant les autres de la souche commune. Cette circonstance pourrait expliquer peut-être pour quoi les langues Celtiques, à côté d'une plus grande richesse en radicaux Indo-Européens, offrent un système moins complet de formes grammaticales que la plupart des autres branches de la famille; soit qu'a l'epoque de la séparation, l'ensemble de ces formes n'eût pas encore atteint tout son developpement, soit, ce qui est plus probable, qu'un temps plus long ait exercé, sous ce rapport, une influence plus destructive. Quoi qu'il en soit, les analogies de ces langues avec le Sanscrit nous reportent a l'epoque la plus ancienne à laquelle nous puissions atteindre par la philologie comparée, et deviennent ainsi une des données les plus importantes pour rechercher quel degré de développement avait atteint la langue-mère de toute la famille."—Pictet's Letter to Schlegel, in the Journal Asiatique.

ROBERT WILLIAMS, M.A.

Rhydycroesau, Oswestry, April 19, 1860.

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#### BRETON CELTS.

During my last visit to Britanny, M. Le Men, the keeper of the records of the department of Finistère, and one of our most active members, informed me that a collection of celts, principally of stone, found at Carnac and its neighbourhood, might be obtained. He kindly undertook the necessary negotiation with the owner of them, the aged curé of Erdeven, an adjoining parish, and finally succeeded in purchasing them, and remitting them to England. Unfortunately this gentleman had not taken notes of the particular circumstances under which these articles were at various times found by peasants, or the children of his school, excepting one, which he, however, fails to particularize with sufficient detail to identify it, and which was found in the neighbouring sea by men dredging for oysters. The four bronze celts were discovered on a little island near Belz.

The collection consists of thirty implements of stone, and four of bronze, which last are of the usual Breton type, one of them bearing a slight ornament, as represented in the accompanying cut. Although other examples of the paalstab and ordinary bronze celt occur in this country, yet they form the exception to the general rule, the great bulk of those discovered being almost uniformly of the same type,—a type almost, if not entirely, unknown in this country. There is also another fact connected with these instruments not undeserving notice, namely, the circumstance that they are frequently found in considerable quantities. M. Le Men has alluded to those found near Pontaven.

"Having crossed the Bourg (Moelan) on the way to the seacoast, I found a menhir, almost square, about 18 or 19 feet high. Owing to the mending of the road a year before my visit (1858), it was found necessary to move a large flat stone, placed at the foot of the stone pillar. Underneath this stone were discovered, in a square chamber, the sides of which were composed of dry walling, eighty bronze celts of a very common type, placed one above the other in regular and symmetrical order."—Arch. Camb., Third Series, v. 185. One of these M. Le Men sent to me, which had never been used, being as fresh as if it had been just taken from the mould.

A still larger number was found between Quimper and Quimperlé last February, all of the same type, a notice of which, together with an elaborate drawing of the only ornamented one, has been forwarded to the Journal by M. Le Men.

The stone implements of this collection vary considerably in size and finish, but not, with few exceptions, in form. There are, however, no instances where the sides are parallel, like the remarkably fine stone implement now in the Museum at Caernarvon, found in the parish

of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd many years ago.

With one or two exceptions, the celts that form this collection are generally of the same type, one extremity being provided with a curved or straight cutting edge, the other more or less gradually diminishing to a narrow point. The great majority of them have apparently been intended to be fitted with bone or wooden handles: some. however, especially the larger ones, were perhaps used simply by the hand. These primitive stone implements seem to have been more frequently pierced with a single hole than is usually the case with those found in this country, though only one of the present collection is so pierced. Some also are left rough where the handle would be fastened, while the other portions are carefully polished, though in many cases the polishing extends equally all over the whole surface. On the carved slabs of the chamber at Gafr'innis are several representations of the ordinary stone celts, or at least what may be considered as such, unprovided with handles; while we have what is undoubtedly the figure of a stone celt, provided with a handle, on one of the covering slabs of the dolmen at Lockmariaker, called the "merchant's table."

M. Le Men conjectures that the use of the hole, so frequently found, is either for securing the implement more firmly with a peg, or for suspending them, when

without a handle, to the waist, or neck.

We now proceed to notice separately this collection.

- 1. This is the largest and heaviest, being nearly 11 inches long, and having a cutting edge of more than 5. Its weight is 4 pounds. It is composed of a hard grey igneous rock, moderately polished, having a curved cutting edge, which bears marks of long, but not severe service. From the tapering of its sides, and under and upper surfaces towards the other end, it may be used very conveniently by an ordinary sized hand, while its weight would give it sufficient impetus for effective work.
- 2. The slender proportions of this specimen, as well as the high polish and great care with which it has been wrought, seem to point out that it was not intended for rough work. It is nearly 9 inches long, and 3 broad at its cutting edge, and of a beautiful green porphyry. The upper and under surfaces are nearly flat, while the edges taper very much towards the handle, which ends in so fine a point that a very small hand would conveniently grasp it. From its lightness and high finish, it may have been, if not a war implement of some chieftain, intended for ceremonial or sacrificial purposes.

3. The general form of this specimen is similar to that of No. 1, except that it does not taper off into so small a point, and appears to have been better adapted for securing to a handle. One side only has been polished.

Its length is 9 by 31 inches.

4. This is of the same material as No. 1, but slightly different in form, it being remarkably thick and heavy in proportion to its length of 7 inches. The smaller end, which has been left rough, is not so much reduced in size like the preceding ones, thereby giving a more secure purchase to the handle.

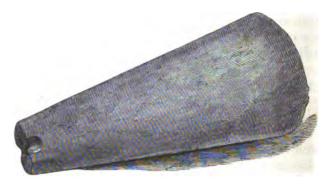
5. This celt is of a different form. The cutting edge is almost straight, and forms an obtuse angle with the main axis, so that the implement presents an obtuse angled triangle. It is composed of a reddish porphyritic rock, intermixed with quartz. It is also unusually thin, the upper and under surfaces having been ground flat.

This implement, from its inconvenient form for hand use, must have been fitted with a handle.

6. A well proportioned celt in black basalt, not highly

polished, measuring 6 inches by 3.

7. This is a remarkable celt from its thinness, which does not, in the thickest part, exceed a quarter of an inch, the upper and under surfaces having been worked flat with great care. The material is a white stone of porphyritic character, and has been carefully polished. The sides are perfectly straight, converging probably to a point, for the smaller extremity has been unfortunately broken off, as is seen in the illustration. The cutting



edge is chipped on one part, but in its original state formed a considerable curve. This is the only instance in the collection furnished with a hole, pierced in the usual manner of these implements. This implement appears to be so little adapted for ordinary work, that we are inclined to class it with No. 2, as intended for ceremonial or sacrificial purposes.

- 8. A stone celt of the same rock as No. 1, the smaller end of which terminates in a very narrow point. The cutting edge is now rectilinear; but, as it has been much worn, this is not probably its original form. Its thickness is very considerable in proportion to its other dimensions, which are about 7 and 3 inches respectively. It has never been carefully polished.
  - 9. This is of the same material as the preceding one,

but of somewhat different proportions. There is one slight peculiarity in the formation of it, namely, that on one side the bevelling towards the cutting edge extends higher up towards the smaller end on one surface than the other. In most examples this bevelling is found to be nearly the same on each side.

- 10. One of the surfaces of this celt has been worked nearly flat, the other being somewhat convex. On this same surface a slight concavity, about an inch long, has been also worked, but for what purpose is not evident. The lower part only has been polished, the upper being left rough. The stone is a dark basalt, and is of the same dimensions as No. 8.
- 11. This is an elegantly formed celt of dark porphyry, in perfect preservation, and highly polished, except towards its smaller end, where the stone is left in a rough state. Its length is  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , and greatest breadth  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.
- 12. This also is very similar to the preceding one, but an inch shorter. One of the sides has been worked flat, nearly to the smaller extremity. The edges near the part where it would be clasped by a split handle are left rough, or have been intentionally worked into rough excrescences, as if for the more secure fastening of the handle.
- 13. A very perfect example, in dark green porphyry, highly polished. Both surfaces have been worked nearly flat. It is nearly of the same dimensions as No. 12.
- 14. This is a rudely-formed implement, of light coloured igneous rock, about 5 inches long and 2 broad. It may have been once well provided with a cutting edge, which, having been worn away by use, or otherwise, the implement has subsequently been converted into a kind of hammer, for the broken or worn edge has been carefully ground down, and not left in a mutilated condition.
- 15. This is made of the same kind of stone as No. 1, but bearing traces of a dark brown polish. The cutting edge is slightly rounded, and apparently never finer than it is at present, as if intended for rude work. The thickness is very considerable in proportion to its other dimensions, which are  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

16. A representation of this article (which does not, however, convey an accurate idea of the proportions) is given in the accompanying cut. Its form differs in a remarkable degree from all the preceding examples, answering exactly to the modern chisel. It would even now serve as a common turnscrew, the cutting edge (hardly half an inch broad) being as perfect as when it



first came out of the maker's hand. The length of this specimen exceeds 5 inches. The angles of the sides have also been carefully worked round, and slightly converge towards the opposite extremity, as if intended to have been inserted into a hollow bone or wooden handle.

17. Like No. 14, this example has undergone a second grinding. A large fragment has been chipped off by some accident, carrying away with it a portion of its cutting edge. Attempts have been subsequently made to grind down the fractured part so as to fit it for further use. It has only been slightly polished. Its length (which is double its breadth at the cutting edge) is nearly 4 inches.

18. This specimen, which is of the same material as the preceding one (a light green igneous rock), has been still more extensively damaged, the cutting edge having been quite destroyed by extensive chippings, extending two or three inches. No attempt has been made at any regrinding, but the other extremity seems to have been used instead, the marks of service being very evident.

19, 20. Both these are made of the same kind of stone as No. 5, similar in form, and nearly equal in size. The

smaller extremity of the lesser of the two has not been worked to a narrow point, as usual, and has been left in a rough state. The length of the larger is 4 inches, and double the breadth. The dimensions of the smaller one are about half an inch less.

21. An elegant specimen of dark porphyry, highly polished, and carefully worked with a straight cutting edge. It is in a nearly perfect condition, and under 3

inches in length.

22. This celt is of red porphyry, slightly polished, and unusually thin, being only a quarter of an inch in thickness. Its length is about 3 inches, and greatest breadth 2. The small end, which was originally worked to a fine point, has been chipped, as if that part also had been used as a tool.

23. This example is very similar to the last mentioned one in shape and material, except that it is of a lighter

colour, and is more massive.

24. This appears to be another example of a celt, which has undergone a second manipulation. It is rudely formed of black basalt, and has never been polished. What was once probably the cutting edge has been ground away entirely, so as to form it into a kind of hammer, either extremity of which could be used according to the work required. It is less than 4 inches long, and about 2 broad, but very thick and heavy for its size.

25. This is about the same size as the last, but not so heavy or massive; the lower part only has been polished,

the other part being left rough.

26. The only peculiarity to be observed in this specimen is, that one side has been ground flat and slightly polished, the other as usual slightly convex, and left

rough. Its length is little more than 3 inches.

27. This is formed of a hard grey rock, similar to those of our Lower Silurian. It has never been polished, though the surfaces have been worked flat with some care. The point of the smaller extremity has apparently been broken off by violence.

28. A small but perfect example in green porphyry,

highly polished, with a straight cutting edge, of the same dimensions as 27, namely,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches long by 2 broad.

29. Another of the same size, but not so perfect, in red porphyry, the extremity of its handle having been

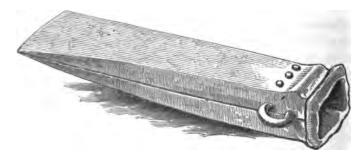
slightly damaged.

30. This is the smallest specimen in the collection, and is given one-third less in the cut. It has apparently been little used, as the cutting edge, which is curved, is perfect. Its weight barely exceeds an ounce. As an



instrument of offence it could not have been very formidable, and, if used as a tool, it was probably employed on work where delicacy of hand was more wanted than vigour of arm. It is carefully polished. The material is a close, greenish-grey rock, not unlike that of which the large one No. 1 is made.

The four bronze celts, which form part of the collection, were found many years ago lying together on a small



island in the estuary of the river Blavet, opposite the parish of Belz, or, according to the author of the Dra-

contium, the site of the principal oracle of the Armorican Bel, the Roman Belus; one of these only has a rude ornament, as here given; but all are exactly of the same form, weight, &c., being nearly 6 ounces in weight, and 5 inches long. Three of them may have come from the same mould. This is the almost universal type of the celt found in Britanny in such large numbers. These implements are generally rudely cast, very light and thin. All that have come under my notice, which have been found in various localities in Britanny, have nearly the same uniform colour, a light yellowish green, quite distinct from those dark and varying shades which may be generally observed in the ordinary celts of our own collections, some of which vary from a rich deep green almost to positive black.

E. L. B.

#### ORNAMENTED BRETON CELTS.

An interesting discovery was made on the 17th of February last, near the village of Ergué Armel, about a mile and a half from Quimper, and near the side of the Roman road leading thence to Quimperlé.

A labourer, who was digging in a field belonging to the village of Kerlaëron, found, at the depth of about a foot, two earthen vessels of moderate height, but very considerable dimensions in other respects, placed near each other. One of these was empty. The other inclosed 168 bronze celts, carefully arranged, and of the ordinary square form, and provided with a loop, as usual, on one side. These implements only differed from one another in their dimensions, but the difference even between the largest and smallest was very trifling, merely, in fact, sufficient to prove that they were formed in different moulds. Only one of them was ornamented. Its length is nearly six inches, and the cutting edge two; while the aperture intended to receive the handle forms a square,

each side of which slightly exceeds an inch. this part and the loop, on one side, are three mouldings (bourrelet) separated from one another by a kind of The middle one of these is ornamented with lines, running obliquely from left to right, presenting the appearance of a torsade, or twisted moulding. oblique lines, but turned in the opposite direction, namely, from right to left, ornament the intervening space, which separates the intermediate from the third moulding. This moulding, that is, the one nearest the loop, is, like the first, perfectly smooth, but from it spring at right angles six slight shafts in relief, about one and a half inches long, terminated on one face of the instrument by little rings, on the other by knobs of the same dimensions. This latter face is, moreover, somewhat less ornamented. These shafts, which are parallel at equal distances from each other are separated in their lower portions by double oblique lines. The creases usually observed on these implements, and which are caused by the imperfect junction of the two halves of the mould, have in this instance been carefully removed by the file, the traces of which are very evident. On three of the faces is seen that peculiar glaze or varnish, so similar to the patina found in Roman brass coins. This celt, of which the accompanying illustration gives a correct representation, is the property of the Mayor of Ergué Armel; the others have been dispersed.

The vessels, of which one inclosed these instruments, are composed of a coarse gravelly material, mixed with particles of mica, and fragments of quartz, some of which were nearly three-fifths of an inch in thickness. They had evidently been formed on a lathe, as indicated by the spiral lines left by the hand of the workman in the interior.

Many explanations have at various times been given as to the manner in which these implements were used. My own impression is, they were fitted with straight handles, and hurled against the enemies as javelins. The loop on one of its sides was useful in securing the handle,

as well as enabling a person, by passing a leather thong through it, to carry several of them together at once. As to the conjecture offered by some archæologists, that these were intended as wedges to secure the stakes of the tents of Roman soldiers, I can hardly persuade myself

that it is made seriously.

The celt, of which the above is a detailed description, is the only one of its kind, as far as I am aware, that has been discovered in Lower Britanny; but M. Dorn, of Quimper, Juge du Tribunal, possesses one found near Rennes, which is also ornamented, but not so richly, although a strong analogy exists between the two. specimen has, on two surfaces, the same narrow parallel shafts, which are terminated by little rings, with one exception, which are also provided with a small central knob. The pattern is the same on both surfaces, with the exception of the small annulet on the edge, which occurs only on one. M. Du Noyer has given, in the Archaological Journal (vol. iv. p. 328, plate 1., fig. 8), the exact counterpart of this ornamentation, except that in M. Dorn's celt one of the central knobs is wanting; but this is probably the result of accident. In the specimen figured by M. Du Noyer, and in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, the slender shafts terminating in the annulets extend nearly the whole length of the side, whereas, in the Breton example, they do not reach beyond the side loop. The length also of the former implement is little more than 31 inches, so that the actual lengths of the small shafts are not so unequal. same plate (No. 9) is also given an example of the torsade, or twisted moulding, seen in the celt found at Ergué Armel, though not applied exactly to the same purpose. In the Irish specimen there are six torsades close to each other, forming a kind of band placed opposite to, and equal in breadth to, the side loop, and constituting the only ornament. This celt is 41 inches long, and is also in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

The next example of the ornamented celt presents a very simple pattern, consisting merely of two lines run-

ning parallel with the sides; it is the same on both surfaces. A somewhat similar arrangement occurs on a small stone celt, at present, or lately, in the possession of the Mayor of Plouharnel, near Carnac, and which was discovered in one of the magnificent dolmens or cromlechs of that place, together with a large collection of miscellaneous objects, including a massive gold collar.

There can be no doubt as to the nature of this discovery at Ergué Armel. It was evidently the armoury of some Gaulish chief, whose "hache de parade" I take this ornamented celt to have been, and which he might have used also in the battle-field—while the others, less precious implements, were his ordinary missiles of warfare. It is less easy to explain why they were thus concealed, and one can only offer conjectures, as, after the most diligent

search, I could discover no traces of sepulture.

I have already mentioned that this discovery was made on the side of the Roman road from Quimper to Quimperlé. About half a mile distant from the spot, some years ago, a discovery of a different, but not less interesting, character was made, on examining a tumulus formed of earth and stones, about four feet high and twenty-five in circumference. This monument contained, in a line running north and south, a little more than a yard from each other, three stone pillars, or upright cut stones firmly fixed in the earth, and each about a yard high. One of these stone pillars was square, the other two round, and they each stood in the middle of four urns placed round their bases, and filled with burnt bones. A coin of Trajan, a bronze bracelet, and an iron implement, very much oxydized, and thought to have been part of a short sword, were, with the urns, the only articles found. This discovery occurred in the village of Pen ar C'hoat, which is also situated in the commune of Ergué Armel, the owner of which, M. Le Guay, has carefully preserved the stone pillars at his residence of Cleuziou, the greater part of the other objects being at present in the Public Library of Quimper.

Quimper, May, 1860.

R. F. Le Men.

# THE EARLY INSCRIBED AND SCULPTURED STONES OF WALES.

## (Continued from p. 136.)

#### THE CLYDAI STONES.

During the last meeting of this Association, held at Cardigan, in August, 1859, I took the opportunity of visiting and inspecting three very interesting early inscribed stones in the parish of Clydai, a few miles south of Newcastle Emlyn, to which my attention had been kindly directed by Mr. Vincent and by Dr. Jones, whose charming residence in the valley of the Cych afforded me a pleasant resting-place during my day's ramble in search of these hitherto undescribed relics of antiquity.

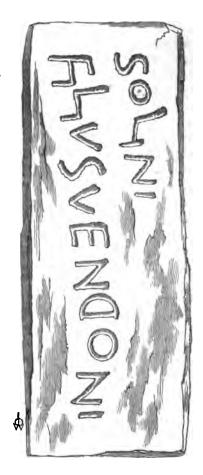
Two of these stones are built into the wall of the village church-yard, the first of them being imbedded in the wall just outside the Lych-gate, at the east entrance of the church-yard, whilst the second now stands as the post for a sun dial in the north wall; the latter is very rough on its surface, but its edges exhibit traces of Ogham notches, as represented in the accompanying woodcut.

The first of these stones offers no difficulty in its interpretation, being easily read—

#### SOLINI FILIVS VENDONI

inscribed in rude Roman capital letters of a debased form, with a slight minuscule tinge; the only peculiarities worthy of note being the circumstance of the lower part of the S being extended below the line, whilst the I following the letters F and L is also carried below the line, its top not being extended above the transverse strokes of the preceding letters, giving an appearance of irregularity to the lines; the letter D in the second line is also reversed; and the terminal I in both lines is erect instead of being horizontal, as is so often the case in the early stones of the same period. It will also be observed that whilst the word FILIVS appears in the nominative

case, the preceding word SOLINI would seem to be in the genitive, unless indeed we adopt the opinion that the Solini, and not Solinus, was the true name of the deceased, a supposition not I think maintainable. The name of the



father of the deceased is here seen to be VENDONVS, which gives us a clue to the correct reading of another stone, already represented in this work (Third Series, iv. p. 161), at Devynock, a portion of which has been broken off, leaving the letters LIVENDONI, which we now find

ought to be read FILI VENDONI, instead of being regarded as altogether forming the name Livendoni, as previously surmised.



The second of these stones, forming part of the north wall of the church-yard, is about 4 feet high by 1 foot

wide. Like the former, it contains an inscription in debased Roman capitals, but the formula is still more irregular, the reading evidently being

#### ETERNI FILI.VICTOR.

The first letter is reversed, the Rs ill formed, and the word fili formed of compound letters, the F distinct, the first I forming the upright stroke of the L, and the second I united at its base with the horizontal stroke of the L, the oblique mark represented is most probably a flaw in the stone. On the two edges of this stone are Ogham strokes and marks, which are here given from a sketch by Mr. H. Longueville Jones, as the day when I visited the locality was not at all favourable for their examination. The two names on this stone merit a passing remark. The first, Eternus, is here so distinctly written that it leaves no room for doubt as to its employment as a name. Hence we obtain a true reading of the Llannor inscription (Arch. Camb. First Series, ii. p. 203),

## ICVENALI FILI ETERNI HIC IACIT

and hence I think we have a further proof of the correctness of my surmise that the terminal words of the Bodvoc inscription (*Arch. Camb.* Third Series, iv. p. 289) are to be read as names, ETERNALI VEDOMAVI.

The third of the Clydai stones is now built into the foot of the steps leading to the granary at Tygoed farm, about a mile north of the church, having been taken from Clydai church-yard. The upper part of this stone is ornamented with a cross, with dilated ends to the arms, inscribed within a circle, the curved lines separating the arms interlacing in the middle of the cross. Two deeply incised longitudinal lines extend two-thirds down the face of the stone, where they meet a transverse line. There are some other shorter, horizontal, and perpendicular strokes (exclusive of several Ogham marks on the left edge of the stone), which appear to be destitute of any meaning. The lower end of the stone is buried in the ground, so that I am not able to conjecture what may be

the true name of the person to whose memory the stone was originally carved. The letters DOB, with (F)ILIVS in a second line, are all that I could determine, the latter



being followed in the middle portion of the face of the stone by three short strokes (which I scarcely think can

be intended for the letter E), and the letters VOLENC, a name which certainly recalls to mind the Penbryn stone inscription COR. BALENGI. I suppose it possible that both may be intended to commemorate a person named VALENTIUS or even VALENS.

J. O. WESTWOOD, M.A.

Oxford, May, 1860.

# Obitnary.

Another excellent antiquary has been taken away from our Association in the person of the late Joseph Morris, Esq., F.S.A., of Shrewsbury, whose decease, on April 19, 1860, we regret to announce. He was one of the very best heraldic antiquaries of our day; his knowledge of Welsh genealogy was exceedingly varied and profound; his labour great; his accuracy always to be depended upon. His writings have long been known to the public, and our own Association has been much indebted to him, not only for contributions on various subjects, but also for the kindness with which he often gave advice, when referred to upon archæological topics. He was 68 years of age at the time of his death, but still the news has come upon us somewhat suddenly, for we anticipated many years of antiquarian co-operation from him. Such a loss will be sensibly felt. We understand that he has left numerous archæological and genealogical papers behind him; and, while we hope that his heirs will take steps to have them duly preserved, we shall be very glad to lay a selection of them before members in the pages our Journal.

# Cambrian Archaealogical Association.

#### BANGOR' MEETING.

27TH AUGUST, TO 31ST AUGUST, 1860.

The following arrangements are proposed, subject to such alterations as may be found necessary at the time of meeting:—

Monday, August 27th.—The General Committee will meet at 6 in the evening, for the transaction of business. At 8 p.m. the President will, on taking the chair, deliver his address. The Annual Report will be read; and,

if time permit, one or more papers will follow.

Tuesday, August 28th.—Excursion, at 9 a.m. Beaumaris—Bryn Britain—Hen Blas—Church—Castle—Town Wall—Castell Lleiniog—Penmon Church—Pigeon House—Well—Cross. Arrangements will be made, if possible, to proceed to Beaumaris by water, whence carriages will be provided; returning the same way from Beaumaris. If this is not practicable, carriages will start

from Bangor. Evening Meeting at 8.

Wednesday, August 29th.—Excursion, at 9 a.m. On arriving at Cefn Bach, the carriages will turn towards Llanddaniel as far as Bryncelli—Sepulchral Chamber. Return by Cefn Bach, to Plas Goch—Camp at Porthamel—Brynbeddau—thence to Castell Edris, Bryn Gwydryn—Llanidan Church—Font and supposed Reliquary. Through Bryn-siencyn, to Caerleb (Roman Station), Sarn—Intrenchment. If time admits, the excursion may be continued from Caerleb, passing Tretwry (Cyttiau Gwyddelod, or Irishmen's Huts), towards Bodowyr and Cromlech—Llangaffo—Inscribed Stone at Frondeg—returning to Plas Newydd—Tumulus and Cromlech. Evening Meeting at 8.

Thursday, August 30th.—The General Committee will meet at 9 a.m., for the transaction of the necessary business of the Association. At 1 o'clock p.m., the principal architectural details of the Cathedral will be pointed out by Mr. Kennedy, and visits subsequently paid to the Friary, the site of the

Castle, and Penrhyn Castle (by permission), Llandegai Church, &c.

Friday, August 31st.—Excursion, at 8 a.m. By Railway to Penmaen Mawr Station—ascend the Mountain by the Valley and Old Road behind it—visit Stone Circles, &c., on the moors behind—ascend to Fortified Post on the summit of Penmaen Mawr—on descending, return by Roman Road leading from Caerhun (Conovium) to Caernarvon (Segontium), and passing over Bwlch y ddaufaen to Aber—examine British Settlements and Cistfaen on the side of the road—Fortified Mound, Ancient House with Tower, and Church at Aber. Return by Railway. If possible, ponies will be provided for ladies, and the less active pedestrians. Ladies and Gentlemen who do not join the Excursion to Penmaen Mawr may visit Holyhead, and inspectate Romano-British Wall—the Church—the Stone Camp on the Head—Cromelech, two miles from Holyhead; or they may proceed to Llanberis Lakes, and Dolbadarn Tower, and Dinas Dinorddwig—or else to the Bridges and Caernarvon Castle—Segontium, &c.

The principal Hotels are, the *Penrhyn Arms*, the *Castle*, and *British*. It will be advisable for Members and strangers attending the meeting to give early notice of the accommodation required. Excellent Private Lodgings may also be had. Members and others wishing for such accommodation must give notice of their requirements to the Local Secretary, Henry Kennedy, Esq.

Public Conveyances, Trains to and fro all day.—See Bradshaw's Railway Guide for August. A steamer leaves Liverpool for Bangor daily. Daily coaches to Caernarvon from Dolgelley.

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Dr. R. D. Jenkins, Esq., in account with the Members of the Cambrian Archaelogical Association.	By paid for Carriage of Parcels	E22 15 1 By Balance due to the Association, and Remitted by Draft this day	6, 1860,—Examined, WILLIAM JAMES, Local B. D. JENKINS. Approved, C. C. BABINGTON, Chair
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Dr. R. D. Jenkins, Esq., in account wi	Amount of Subscriptions received from the gentlenen in the neighbourhood of Cardigan, towards defraying the expenses of the Meeting.  To Cash received of Mr. T. Clougher, by sale of Tokets.  To Cash of Mr. Ready, Curator of the Museum 3 8		

## Correspondence.

#### POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF WALES.

To the Editor of the Archeologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—In No. XXI. of the Third Series of our Journal is printed a long and able paper by Mr. Milman, which appeared almost simultaneously in the Archwologia, published by the Society of Antiquaries. This paper is one of peculiar interest to members of our own body, and evinces great learning, and legal as well as logical acumen, on the part of its author. I have been expecting to see some notice taken of it by members; but, none having hitherto been printed in our Journal, I am desirous of stating my reasons for not concurring in all his conclusions. I do not so much wish to open any controversy, as to put my own opinions on record, and leave the question for further ventilation.

The main object of Mr. Milman is to show that Monmouthshire forms part and parcel of Wales; and that Wales should be considered as consisting of thirteen counties, not of twelve only. I do not agree with this, and I think he has not established his case; but I do agree with him to a considerable extent when he says, "the line of Offa's Dyke and the river Wye should be drawn as an historical limit, independent of the shire divisions." Now, although this phrase assumes the solution of a controversy adhuc sub judice, viz., that Offa's Dyke ends at Bridge Sollers on the Wye, and does not continue down to the Severn, (a point upon which one of our most learned members, Dr. Ormerod, may possibly be tempted to say something, and on which other members have conflicting opinions,) yet I am quite willing to admit in ordinary parlance that Wales became Wales when Offa completed his great territorial boundary line, whatever and wherever its northern and southern terminations may have been. The broad distinctions of race, language, and territory, then assumed, on the whole, a tangible, definite form; and, historically speaking, everything west of the Dyke was either really Cymric, or Welsh, everything east Saxon; not that this distinction remained immutable. The Welsh lost ground continually west of the Dyke, as in Flintshire, Herefordshire, Radnorshire, and even in the disputed county of Monmouth. Long before the Norman lords began their systematic encroachments, "Wales for the Welsh" was not a strictly historical definition. Whether before or after the Norman inroads, the Welsh tribes, and the Welsh language, had in various places been driven back. The Welsh have always been fated to yield to the Saxon, or the Dane; and though Offa's Dyke had been at one time a tolerably correct boundary, it had ceased to be entirely so before the Lords Marchers had established their power. Still, all along this line, up to it from the west, and even over it on the east, in various places, the ground and the people were more or less Cymric. Parts of the Marches were much more Welsh in habits and feeling than the larger portion of Monmouthshire was; and even at the present day the Welsh language is spoken on the eastern side of the Dyke towards the north, although no such counterflux of the Cymric tide can be traced towards the south.<sup>1</sup>

Allowing, however, that Mr. Milman's expression, concerning Offia's Dyke, is tolerably correct, the question is not what is historically or socially Wales, but what is legally so. Historically and socially parts of Shropshire are more Welsh than parts of Monmouthshire,—a large part of Radnorshire is English,—but legally they have no right to be so termed. I am aware that some people in Monmouthshire would like to be called Welsh, and to be so reckoned at the present day; but what I differ in from Mr. Milman is the fact that

they have no right to that appellation.

The name of Wales, the legal name of Wales, was given to a definite portion of territory, and to certain specified shires, by an Act of Parliament (34 35 Hen. VIII. cap. xxvi.) which has never been abrogated, except in so much as the Welsh circuits were modified by 11 Geo. IV., and 1 Will. IV. c. 70. Certain proceedings were taken before the House of Commons, and certain entries made in their journals, which do not correspond with the wording of the Act of Hen. VIII.; but no Act of Parliament resulted from them in contravention of the former statute; and the legal definition of Wales—the only one with which we are concerned—depends upon the wording of that statute. I say the legal definition; for, if we depart from that, we shall be driven from the ancient historical limit of the Dyke; and we must confess that large parts of Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Glamorganshire, Pembrokeshire, and even a portion of Caermarthenshire, cannot be called Welsh in any social sense at the present day, nor have been historically so for several centuries.

To put all this in a clearer light, I will give extracts from the statutes affecting the question.

27 Hen. VIII. cap. v. A.D. 1535 (Statutes at Large, vol. ii. 222). For the making of justices of peace within Chester and Wales: Enumerates counties of Chester, Flint, Anglesey, Kayernarvan, Mere-

Enumerates counties of Chester, Flint, Anglesey, Kayernarvan, Mereoneth, Cardigan, Kayermarthen, Pembroke and Glamorgan.

Whereof Anglesey (Anglice) Kayernarvan (Cayernervan) and Mereoneth are called as "within the Principality of North Wales" and the rest in South Wales.

No other counties enumerated.

27 Hen. VIII. cap. vii. A.D. 1535 (Stat. at Large, vol. ii. 224).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I am surprised that no member has given us a paper on the names of places, and on the existence of this Cymric element throughout the March districts. It is a subject upon which much might be said, and concerning which many curious social and historical facts might be elicited.

For the abuses in the forests of Wales and the Marches of the same.

No counties enumerated.

27 Hen. VIII. cap. xxvi. AD. 1535 (Stat. at Large, vol. ii. 240). "Concerning the laws to be used in Wales."

- "(III.) And forasmuch as there be many & divers Lordships Marchers within the said Country or Dominion of Wales, lying between the shires of England and the shires of the said country or dominion of Wales, and being no parcel of any other shires where the laws and due correction is used and had &c"-"it is therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that divers of the said Lordships Marchers shall be united annexed and joined to divers of the shires of England and divers of the said Lordships Marchers shall be united annexed and joined to divers of the shires of the said country or dominion of Wales, in manner and form hereinafter following; and that all the residue of the said Lordships Marchers within the said country or dominion of Wales shall be severed and divided into certain particular counties or shires, that is to say, the County or Shire of Monmouth, the County or shire of Brecknock, the County or shire of Radnor, the County or Shire of Montgomery, the County or shire of Denbigh: and that the Lordships, townships, parishes, commotes and cantreds of Monmouth, Chepstow, Matherne, Llanvihangel, Magour, Goldecliffe, Newport, Wenllonge, Llanwerne, Caerlion, Usk, Treleck, Tintern, Skynfreth, Grousmont, Witecastle, Reglan, Calicote, Biston, Abergevenny, Penrose, Grenefield, Maghen and Hochuyslade in the Country of Wales, and all and singular honours Lordships, Castles, Manors, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, lying or being within the Compass or precinct of the said Lordships townships being within the Compass or precinct of the said Lordships, townships, hamlets, parishes, commotes and cantreds, and every of them, in whose possession soever they be or shall be, and every part thereof, shall stand and be from and after the said feast of All Saints guildable and shall be reputed accepted named and taken as parts and members of the said shire of Monmouth; and that the said town of Monmouth shall be named, accepted, reputed used had and taken, Head and Shire town of the said County or shire of Monmouth: and that the Sheriffs County or Shire Court of and for the said shire and county of Monmouth shall be holden and kept one time at the said town of Monmouth, and the next time at the town of Newport, in the same county or shire, and so to be kept in the same two towns alternis vicibus, and according to the laws of this Realm of England for ever, and in none other places.'
- (IV.) Enacts that all law proceedings, magistrates, &c., in Monmouthshire, be subject to the superior courts, and Lord Chancellor of England, &c., &c., "as in all and every other shire of this realm of England."

(V.) (VI.) (VII.) (VIII.) Define the townships, &c., forming the counties of Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh respectively.

(X.) Enacts,-

"And that justice shall be ministred used exercised and executed unto the Kings subjects and inhabitants in every of the said shires of Brecknock, Radnor Mountgomery and Denbigh according to the laws and statues of this realm of England, and according to such other customs and laws now used in Wales aforesaid, as the King our Sovereign Lord and his most honourable Council shall allow and think expedient requisite and necessary, by such

justices or justicers as shall be thereunto appointed by our said Sovereign Lord the King, and after such form and fashion as justice is used and ministred to the King's Subjects within the three shires of North Wales."

(XX.) "Also be it enacted by the authority aforesaid that all Justices commissioners sheriffs coroners escheators stewards and their Lieutenants and all other officers and ministers of the law shall proclaim and keep the Sessions Courts, Hundreds, Leets, Sheriffs Courts, and all other Courts in the English tongue: and all oaths of officers Juries and inquests and all other affidavits verdicts and wagers of law, to be given and done in the English tongue: and also that from henceforth no person or persons that use the Welsh speech or language shall have or enjoy any manner office or fees within this realm of England, Wales, or other the King's dominion, upon pain of forfeiting the same office or fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English speech or language."

(XXVIII.) Enacts that two knights of the shire and one burgess for the borough of Monmouth be elected in like manner, form, &c.,

"as in all other shires of this realm of England."

(XXIX.) Enacts similar privileges for Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery and Denbigh, "and for every other shire within the said country or dominion of Wales;" &c. 34 35 Hen. VIII. cap. xxvi. A.D. 1542-7 (Stat. at Large,

ii. 348).

"An Act for certain ordinances in the King's dominion and principality of Wales."

(II.) "That his Grace's said dominion principality and Country of Wales be from henceforth divided into twelve shires: of the which eight have been shires of long and ancient time, that is to say, the shires of Glamorgan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Flint, Caernarvan, Anglesey and Merioneth; and four of the said twelve shires be newly made and ordained to be shires, by an Act made at the Parliament holden at Westminster in the twenty-seventh year of our said Sovereign Lord's most noble reign, that is to say, the shires of Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery and Denbigh, over and besides the shire of Monmouth and divers other Dominions Lordships and Manors in the Marches of Wales united and annexed to the shires of Salop Hereford and Glocester, as by the said late Act more plainly appeareth."

(V.) "Item that there shall be holden and kept Sessions twice in every year, in every of the said shires in the said dominion and principality of Wales, that is to say in the shires of Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, Caermarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Montgomery, Denbigh, Flint, Caernarvan, Merioneth, and Anglesey; the which Sessions shall be called the King's Great

Sessions in Wales.

(CI.) "And whereas divers Lordships Marchers as well in Wales as in the Borders of the same &c" . . . "no other liberties &c shall be exercised within the said Lordships, nor any other lordships within Wales or the county of Monmouth" &c.

(CXXI.)-"All woollen clothes made or to be made in the county of Monmouth and in the twelve shires of Wales that is to say in the county of

Brecknock &c." (as above).

Monmouth nowhere else mentioned in this Act.

1 Edw. VI. cap. x. A.D. 1547. (Stat. at Large ii. 321).

"The Bill for Exigents and proclamations in Wales and in the county palatine of Chester"

Recites in preamble 27 Hen. VIII. Act for dividing the counties of Wales, and enumerates the twelve counties as above only, and makes no mention of Monmouth.

I apprehend that the language of the various sections of 34 35 Hen. VIII. c. xxvi., quoted above, not having been repealed, settles the whole question, confirmed as it is by that of 1 Edw. VI. cap. x.

The question next occurs, how was it that this desire to evade the wording of these Acts, and the agitation for making Monmouthshire a Welsh county afterwards arose? Mr. Milman's account of the disputes about Marchership jurisdiction throws some light on the subject, but does not go quite to the bottom of the matter. It was in the time of Elizabeth, when Wales and the Welsh came rather more into fashion; when the monarch with a faulty title was glad to hunt up her pedigree, and to trace back the small Welsh element of her blood to her not very noble ancestors in the obscure village of Penmynydd, in Anglesey; it was then that a pseudo-patriotic feeling was got up in Wales, and in Monmouthshire. Historical traditions were then revived, and much so-called historical matter was invented. The "triads" began to be imagined and licked into shape; bardism began to be organized; in short, many of the absurdities which have been revived for special purposes in the present century then first came For various reasons it was thought that "political capital" might be made out of Wales, and it was made accordingly. The same purpose and the same result have been witnessed in our own day.

Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Itinerarium Cambriæ, when speaking

of Gwentland, had said,-

P. 40.—"Hoc autem mihi notabile videtur, quod gens hæc, quæ Venta gens vocatur, et Martiis conflictibus usitatissima, et strenuitatis opera laudatissima, et arte sagittandi præ ceteris Cambriæ finibus instructissima reperitur."
—Girald. Cambr. Itin. Camb. Edit. 1806.

And if ceteris Cambrice finibus means all Wales, and not the Marches, he assigns that district to it; but his expression is somewhat vague. It is, however, referred to by later writers as the most authoritative testimony on the subject. The passage is thus quoted in Gough's Camden,—

Giraldus Cambrensis, i. c. 3, p. 835.

"The people are practised in martial exercises, of approved bravery, and the best archers of all the Welsh borderers."

Camden, however, in speaking of the Silures, says,-

"SILURES."—... "Wales then, by which name antiently was comprehended the whole country beyond the Severn, though it is now of less extent, was formerly inhabited by three nations, the SILURES, the Dimete, and the Ordovices. They possessed not only the 12 Counties (as they are called) of Wales, but the two beyond the Severn Hereford and Monmouthshires, now reckoned among the English counties."—Vol. ii. p. 441.

And yet Camden is appealed to as a decisive authority for assigning Monmouthshire to Wales!

In Gough's edition of Camden, in the modern portions of it, not in Camden's, we find the following:—

"In the Saxon Heptarchy this country was subject to the Welsh mountaineers whom they called Dunjettan (Dunsettan) who yet as appears by antient laws were subject to the Saxon Government. In the early Norman times the Lords Marchers grievously harassed it, particularly Hameline Balun already mentioned, Hugh Lacy, Walter and Gilbert de Clare and Brien Wallingford, to whom our Kings having granted the propriety of all they could conquer from the Welsh in these parts, some of them gradually reduced the upper part called Over-Went, others the lower called Nether-Went."—Gough's Camden, Edit. 1789, ii. 481, Monmouthshire.

This passage does not strengthen the historical claims of Monmouthshire to a Welsh title. We now however come to the following passages, difficult to be reconciled with each other, and directly opposed to the Acts of Parliament which they pretend to quote:—

"They completed the present number of thirty nine counties. To these add thirteen more in Wales, whereof six subsisted in the time of Edward I.,

the rest were formed by act of Parliament by Henry VIII.'

"But the statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 26, tells us that eight shires were of antient and long time, to wit, those of Glamorgan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Flint, Caernarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth: the other four were made by the statute of 27 Henry VIII. c. 26, besides Monmouth, viz. Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery and Denbigh: so that in King Edward's time there seem to have been eight. Monmouth was taken from Wales and added to England, making the number 40, in the reign of Charles II."—Camden's Introduction, i. exxxii. Edit. Gough, 1789.

"It was considered as a Welsh County till the time of Charles II. when it began to be reckoned in England because the judges kept the assizes here in

the Oxford circuit."—P. 482.—Additions.

There is no valid ground whatever for the assertion about Monmouthshire being "taken from Wales and added to England in the reign of Charles II."

On referring, however, to the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. ii. p. 57, we do find something more tangible; but this was in the

reign of Charles I.

H. of Comm Journals, vol. ii. p. 57. 16 Car. I. Die Mercurii, 23 December, 1640.

Committee named ".... the Knights & Burgesses of the Thirteen Counties of the Principality of Wales, and the Knights and Burgesses of the four shires the Marches of Wales,—and all the lawyers of the house:

"This Committee is to consider of the jurisdiction of the Court of Yorke, and of the Court of the Council of the Marches: and to consider how far the thirteen shires of Wales are subject to the jurisdiction of that court" &c.

If there were thirteen shires in Wales, which were the four shires of the Marches? It is hard to make up the number without Monmouth!

No Act of Parliament defining the "thirteen shires of Wales" can be found in the Statutes at Large; and, in presence of this fact, a resolution of the House of Commons signifies nothing.

With this reference I close the legal part of my argument; and I contend that, until it can be shown that the Acts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., cited above, have been formally abrogated, the legal definition of Wales—the twelve counties of Wales—stands good, and

is alone to be recognized.

I am aware that in recent times certain persons in the county of Monmouth have found their interest in proclaiming themselves to be pre-eminently Welsh, and that they could hardly do this without calling their county Welsh also. With them it has proved a pretty good speculation; the omne ignotum pro magnifico, well trumpeted out in other parts of the kingdom, has enabled them to attain their object; but this is a political matter with which archæology is not concerned. Mr. Milman, in his learned paper, has not been contaminated by any purpose of this kind; he has discussed the subject with the purely scientific spirit of a good legal antiquary,—and I can only hope that his arguments may not be distorted by parties to whom they will come as a most acceptable strengthening of their title to a House of Cards.—I am, &c.,

May 10, 1860.

An Antiquary.

#### LHWYDIAN CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

SIR,—The following document has been transcribed by me from some sheets of MS. containing letters from and to Edward Llwyd. It seems to have been his laudable habit to write copies of his own letters, and of those he received, on antiquarian subjects, in a folio volume, as the sheets in my possession have never been folded into a letter form. As it contains much interesting matter, it is worthy of being preserved in your pages.

ROBERT WILLIAMS, M.A.

Rhydycroesau, Oswestry, July 27, 1859.

#### Responsa G. R. ad Quæstiones Dmi E. Lk.

Satis superque constat rupes Britonum Alpinas appellatas esse Creigie y' ryri vel yr Eryri ab Eryrod sc. aquilis, quas olim in istâ catervatim regione moratas fuisse memoriæ proditum est. Hoc lippos neque tonsores non latet, quod Evan ab Elijæ homo literis non omnino imbutus posteris in versu sequenti tradidit: "Pan weled hi gynta fo'i galwed y Widhfa—Gorsedhfa twr eira, tŷ 'ryrod."

Wotenhar ingradien valet
drea locorum
over liefain, Croesor a croes awr, Aberconwy ab Aber
Cownen, usque adeo corrupta est in his aliisque innumeris

1693. origo et verborum fons ut nonnisi consonantes reservantur. Vix ullus est ex senioribus indigenis qui aquilas non viderit, nec 3 annorum series adhuc præterlapsa est ex quo tempore aquila conspecta

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est, quam etiamnum superesse volunt. Hi rapaces alites fuere olim variis casibus memorabiles, dicuntur enim præter quam domitas aves agnos et oves, etiam canes, vitulos et sues raptâsse, et pecora majora vorâsse, nec his tantum contenti, sed et homines præcipitâsse. Sin yr Eryri denominata foret ab Eira,¹ tum fuisset yr Eriri, sed falluntur qui hanc sententiam ambiunt nullâ alià ratione forsan inducti, quam quod Angli vocant Snowden. At si usquam legitur Eriri, pro Eryri, illam ab eiri, hanc ab Eryrod derivari vocem facile credo.

Tempus quo nix penitus dissolvitur incertum est, câm enim non sequè quosdam annos ningit ac alios: sed aggeres (Lhichfudh) nivium in Alpinis passim rupibus non raro manent ad sestivum usque tropicum.

Tempus, quo incipit, ac ningere desinit, pariter incertum est; sublimes enim montes in media æstate sentiunt aliquando nives nives plavim humidiores: (Wallice odlaw.) Sed sæpissime nix cadit estive tempore statim ab autumnali æquinoctio, et tamdiu subinde continuatur, quoad Sol Tauro valedicit: altæ tamen et sicciori nivi tantum temporis non tribuitur.

Nulla stagna nisi ex parte inconcreta manent. In hyeme armenta fæno pascuntur, greges vero magna ex parte gramine ut in æstate.

Qui ovibus abundant ingens detrimentum nonnunquam accipiunt: nam passim 10, 15, & 20, aliquando 30 & 40 ovium una nivis mole obrutas invenias: sed hæc strages quotannis non accidit.

Incolæ (ni mors immatura intervenerit) plerique 60, plurimi 70, multi 80, quidam 90, pauci 100 annos superarunt, sed nunc temporis ad eam, quam soliti fuerant maturitatem non perveniunt. At unde id constat? Si quis non ita pridem infra 56 & 60 annos natus decederit, cognati mortem ejus ægrè tulerunt, clamitantes, oh! si ad fragiles annos, ætatemque inertiorem venisset nihil doluissem, at mortuus est, cum senectutis limen vix attigisset, cum diutius vivere potuisset. Sed parcendum est necessitati.

Junioribus plerumque febris vitam eripit, aliquando morbilli & hydrops &c. mille enim sunt modi moriendi: ym mhob rhith daw ange. Seniores plurimi infirmitatem ex cæli intemperie contrahunt, quam vocant Lhecheden 'r annwyd; hæc valetudo vel in tempore fit ipse morbus, vel ad minimum (ni fallor) morbum lethalem gignit.

Feræ rariones sunt y Bele, Carlwm, & Dyfrgi; æstimatur sed parvi y Prýllŵyd. Y Llwynog, y Gathgoed & ffwlbart rapinæ præsertim causa venamur, quibus addi potest y fronwen, cujus pellis nulli omnino usui servit, huic bestiolæ respectu non absimilis est y wiwer, sed utræque viles & raro venabiles. Y Beleuod, quæ feræ inter se quoad minimum discrepant, eodem ac vulpes modo venamur; sed canis qui duas vel 3 harum ad mortem usque insectatus est, in nullam aliam ex hinc feram (si fides vulgo adhibenda est) impetum convertet. Eas nonnunquam in ferreis insidiis vel in artificiali lapidum quasi cista, intestinorum corvi vel picæ gratia, vel etiam mellea esca adductas opprimunt. Nihil eis melle dulcius, si modo verum sit triviale adagium, "Cin chwannocced a'r Bele i'r mêl."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pro quo D. Gwilim scribit eiri.

Nullæ aves (quoad sciam) Mwyalchen vel Dynlhuan y Graig exceptâ, rupibus peculiares habentur. Non me penes est judicium an y ceiliog dû, jâr fynydh, lhwyd y brwyn, brondhu 'r twyne, Drydwy, Drysglwyn ne crysglod, adar yr eira, dicantur vallium vel montanorum incolæ.

Moles illæ lapidum quæ summitates montium tenent, ideo aggeratæ dicuntur, ut sint virorum qui antiquis Britonum bellis succubuerunt monumenta, et posteris in memoriam signa ad eundem fere nunc temporis modum qui sibi mortem consciscunt in triviis humantur.<sup>2</sup> Ubi a filiis Edwal Voel & Howel Dha sanguineo prælio dimicatum est, non paucæ extant lapidum moles, quæ inserviunt pro cæsorum monumentis, nec procul abhinc distat Carnedh Owen & Run; hic etiam est bron & Bedh Alarch, cujus patris Lhowarch benedictio³ ironica frequens volitat per ora virum. Huic loco finitima sunt Germani rostra vulgo vocata Pall Garmon. (Palh Thronus Dav. Lexic.)

Ambrosius ille, qui apud nostrates audit Brenin Emrys y bumran, sive fuerit Aurelius vel Aurelianus aut Merlinus vel quisnam fuerit apud me non satis constat. De illo aliisque contemporaneis vir Gwian bach (cui regenito cûm nihil adhuc nisi frons e corio apparuerit nomen dedit vulgi admiratio Oh Iesu or tâl) & Goridwen wrâch plura fidem superantia fabulantur; sed in his datur tam veritati tam falsitati locus,

et argumenta non infirmis utrinque inituntur argumentis.

De sancto Peris nostrates fere omnes omnia fabulose narrant, nec unus quisquam est (quoad sciam) qui novit cujas fuit; sed Ds. G Anwyll, consulto Percy Enderby eum esse Cardinalem Romanum. Memoriæ proditum est, quod Ecclesiæ Llanberris ucha & Llanberis isa vel Llanberis yn Lhûn alias Llangian, & Caergybi ym Môn (ubi Suliau 'r Creirie, quo etiam nomine appellantur Suliau cyssegr Llanberris, celebrantur) illi dedicantur. Fertur ut ad Llanberis ucha ab isa iter habuerat, equum ejus in augustiis montium (Moel i hedog & Moel Dhu) titubâsse, et figuram ungulæ in Saxo reliquisse. Quantumvis hoc falsum sonat, attamen sine dubio verum est augustas istas e saxo predicto in morem ungulæ excavato nomen detraxisse Bwlch tros ôl y march; exinde fit contractum Bwlch tros lymarch.

Est amnis, limes terminans inter Parochias Lhanberis ucha et Lhanddainolen, in stagnum inferius ex superiori cursum dirigens, quem Peris transiens, equo ejus stridente sono salmonis semen in arena montana sepelientis terrefacto, lapsum minatus, ideo que introitu piscem ulterius interdixit. Sed horrendum dictu est, quod salmones non solum visi sed etiam capti sunt in amne Cerniach, qui interdicto loco paululum inferius tunc temporis coincederat cum prædicto. Præterea Gwniad y gôg & crethill brithion hic tunc abundabant, et ausi sunt

ne plus ultra transire limites a Scto Peris sibi præscriptos.

Peris quosdam ex suis Torgochiaid Germano, (cujus nomen in Bettws Garmon:) hic autem pauculos ex illis quos dono acceperat

3 Bendith Llowarch.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ille locus vocabatur exinde Gwaed ir, sed vox nunc corrupta pronunciatur Gwedir.

Scto Grediw dedit; quorum alter acceptos in Lhyn Cwellyn, alter in stagno Llyn cwm y Dulyn vicino, Llyn Torgochiad inde vocato, ad multiplicandum posuit. Germani Torgochiad sunt illis minores et his majores tam numero tam magnitudine, secundum quæ tempus ad eos successive captandos continuatur. Non ego solus credo hos pisces

nullum, aquâ exceptâ, alimentum habere. (Probatum est.)

24 Sanctorum Peris Ægrotum visuris, sese ad locum Gwaun gynfel vel gynfin vocatum obviam obtulit qui de morte ejus nunciavit. Illi vero hujus novi atrocitate attoniti, figebant quisque baculum ferro cuspidatum in saxo quodam ubi stabant manente, quod adhuc 24 foraminibus superne plenum apparet. Peris sepultus fuit in loco ubi nunc stat ecclesia, et (ni me memoria fallit) ingens saxum ponitur: nec aliud præter ejus mensam et lectum in mentione habemus.

Urns found somewhere in Lhŷn about the year 1691. Enquire of Parson Prichard of Edern who has fragments of them. There were bones found in them. Mr Wyn of Ystimlhyn found an urn amongst gwmmwn near Krikiaeth. Two circles of Stones opposite to each other near Brynkyr. They are about a mile or h. a m. distant.

A Stone in Aber Daron Parish with an Inscription. Also another

in Bod Euon parish.

Mem. Gs. near Tre Groes Card.

Karreg y Dadler yn agos at Gappel Kirig a Lhythrenneu arni.

Karreg yn agos at Egl. Bedh Kelert a lhythrenneu. Kastell Aber Iaen ymhen isa Penrhyn Deudraeth.

Ogo dhû ar dîr Ystimlhyn.

In Angleyshire there is a Pool called Llyn Maen-meudwy, & they prophesy concerning it,

Pen gauo Llyn Maenmeudwy Yn jach sôn am Wŷr Môn mwy.

Llyn Coron by Aberfraw.

Llyn Drothwch by Llanberis in Caernarvonshire wherein is a delicate fish of a goulden colour.

Dunin, Cruc, Tumulus artificialis. Dimin. crucan.

Sliew Shneachta in Ynys Owen has on the top of it 10000 stones pitched all on end: about a yard 2 yard &c hight. The ground is covered with a stratum of stones. In the midst whereof 2 acres of clear ground, with a fort and Spr. and on the Fort 6 Leachta or Karnedheu.

There is a rocking stone of a prodigious bigness on the side of a Hill in the quarterland of Rathseny, parish of Clummany, barrony of Inisowen, & county of Dunegall. The figure is conical, and the small end pitched upon a flat stone. The common people call it Magarl fhinn Mhic Cuill, i. e. one of Fin mac Cuil's testicles, for they ascribe all extraordinary things to this Hero. 1693.

# CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION. NUMBERS OF MEMBERS.

#### To the Editor of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

SIR,—With regard to the numbers of our members, as shown by the last two lists, published, viz., in 1858 and 1859, we may learn some curious matters about the vitality and the composition of our Association by comparing them together. Thus I find that the number in 1858 was 300, in 1859, 305, showing a very small increase—not arguing much, I am afraid, for the activity of our Local Secretaries, who ought to be always canvassing for new members. For the sake of greater clearness, I have drawn up the following comparative table of results:—

North Wales. Anglesey Caernarvonshire Denbighshire Flintshire Merionethshire Montgomeryshire	Clergy. 4 2 10 11 0 8	1858. Laity. Total. 2 = 6 4 = 6 25 = 35 8 = 19 3 = 3 4 = 12	olengy. 4 3 10 9 8 7	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
South Wales.	35	$\overline{46} = \overline{81}$	36	$\overline{44} = \overline{80}$
Brecknockshire	2	6 = 8	1	6 = 7
Cardiganshire	4	17 = 21	6	19 = 25
Caermarthenshire	5	20 = 25	5	23 = 28
Glamorganshire	8	36 = 44	10	39 = 49
Pembrokeshire	4	9 = 13	6	10 = 16
Radnorshire	1	5 = 6	0	3 = 3
			_	
	24	93 = 117	28	100 = 128
Marches	6	23 = 29	5	19 = 24
Great Britain and Ireland, &c.	17	56 = 73	18	55 = 73
			_	
	82	218 = 300	87	218 = 305

It is observable at the first glance that laymen abound among us much more than clergymen, there being now 218 of the one to 87 of the other. We also perceive that there are more archæologists among the clergy of North Wales than among those of the South. The stronghold, however, of the Association is in South Wales, particularly in the county of Glamorgan, while the county where archæology is least known and appreciated seems to be Radnorshire. It is difficult to believe that there are only seven archæologists in all Caernarvonshire; there must be many more, but our local officers have not yet known how to induce them to join us.

Looking at the general result of 305 members, I am convinced that, if proper measures were taken, at least 100 more might be added to our number.—I am, &c.,

London, May 1, 1860.

AN INQUIRER.

# CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION. FINANCES.

To the Editor of the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—In comparing the balance-sheets of the receipts and expenditure of our Association for 1858 and 1859, I fancy that I perceive the existence of a deficit, which, however, I shall be glad to learn is

only imaginary.

In the balance-sheet of 1858 I observe the entry, "Subscriptions from 1st January to 31st December, 1858, £285 10s. 3d." At this period I believe the number of subscribing members came up to 300; and, therefore, at the then rate of £1 per head, this item of subscriptions ought to have amounted to £300. Possibly in this very sum of £285 10s. 3d. may have been included sundry arrears of subscriptions from 1857, for I do not see any arrears entered as such, and I know that most societies are plagued by the non-payment of subscriptions. At all events, I consider it evident that, on the 31st December, 1858, there were arrears of subscriptions due, for that year alone, amounting to not less than £14 10s. How the odd threepence came in the shape of a subscription I do not understand.

Supposing, therefore, that this sum of £14 10s. was due, as arrears, for 1858, I should have expected that our officers would have taken care to see that it was paid up during 1859; and, therefore, that, at the end of that year, the Society would have received as the current subscription of the year not less than £315, at the new rate of £1 1s. per head, together with the arrears of 1858, or £329 10s. in all.

On examining the balance-sheet of 1859, it appears that only £276 13s. 7d. was received for subscriptions, being less even than the money paid in 1858. The difference between £329 10s., which was the money that ought to have been received, and £276 13s. 7d., which was the money that mas paid, is not less than £52 16s. 5d.

I do not know whether my calculations are erroneous, or whether I am obtuse in understanding these accounts; but I confess that I am troubled with the idea that we have now arrears of subscriptions amounting to more than £50, or more than sixteen per cent. of our annual income. If so, this shows that our financial condition is not altogether satisfactory; and I hope that the subject will be inquired into at our next Annual Meeting, if, indeed, any financial business is to be seriously transacted there.

It is not fair that most of the members should pay, while thirty members (at least) are allowed to run up arrears; and I think it is the duty of our excellent Chairman, and the Treasurer, to take steps for procuring payment, or for removing the names of the members in arreard the arreard line.

in arrear from the general list.-I remain, &c.,

DIMAI.

#### ORTHOGRAPHY OF BRITANNY.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,-What is the correct form-Britany or Britanny? If the latter, as I see adopted by yourself-why? Would Bretany be allowable as an Anglicised form of Bretagne? I do not know if the laws of the English language would admit such a form, but if they do, it appears to me preferable to your form of Britannia.—I am, &c., A Breton-not A Briton.

#### WELCH OR WELSH.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—Of national adjectives, ending in h, there are two classes; viz., 1. monosyllables in ch preceded by a consonant, as Dutch, French, Scotch, Welch; 2. dissyllables in sh preceded by a vowel, as English, Irish, Kentish, Moorish, Scottish, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish; but Welsh comes under neither class.

Lch are combined in helch, filch, milch, pilchard; but is there another instance of lsh?

Hence I suggest that Welch is the true spelling.

I remain, Sir, yours truly,

March 1, 1860.

H. S. M.

#### VOELAS PEDIGREE.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I send you a few corrections of the Voelas Pedigree. Holland, misplaced; she was the wife of the 2nd Cadwalader (2nd

The wife of the 1st Cadwalader was Catherine Lloyd, of Nant, coheiress. See Lloyd, of Plymog, in Burke, 6th column; (and so in a pedigree supplied in a trial some few years past, Roberts v. Roberts).

Anne Holland appears, as I say, in Harl. MS., 1971, given in Archaelogia Cambrensis, vol. i. 351, referred to in the 1852 vol. p. 69 (1); Voelas pedigree College of Arms (2); Lwys Dwn (3). Thus,—

Winifred—C. W.—Anne Holland d. of Kenelm Throgmorton, Bsq. ) of V.

Robert W. of V., sheriff, 1631. H. MS. 1971 (3.) adds Mary.

-(1.) Thomasin=Robert Wynne -(2.) Grace=Wm. son of Thos. Amwill -(3.) Winifred=Richard Wynne -(4.) Elizabeth=Hugh Peake, 1st Hugh Eaton (i. s. Heaton R. P.)

1. The deponent, Archaeologia Cambrensis, vol. i. 350, probably her grandson.

2. Confirmed in Roberts v. Roberts, pedigree. See also deponent. p. 352.

3. Sa. Wynne of Coed Coch: in Burke.

4. Heaton in error. This Peake's wife was Elizabeth, though her

surname does not appear in deeds.

The 1st Cadwalader was sheriff of D., 1548, as "Kadwalader Morris, of Voylas" (the list I refer to Archaeologia Cambrensis, 1852, p. 69).

His son "Robert Winne ap Cadwalader, of Voylas," in 1549 and 1574; and he at the Eisteddfod, 1567 (Archæologia Cambrensis,

iv. 146).

The 2nd "Cadwalader Wynne, of Voelas," 1605 (as stated); and

his son "Robert Wynne, of Voelas," 1631-1664 (as stated).

"Elice Price, of Voylas," in 1573 (I presume Ellis P. LL.D.?)
Rhys Wynne, brother of the 1st Robert, is ancestor of P. of
Foxley, in Burke's *Peerage*; and the Chaplain, ancestor of P. of
Rhiwlas.

Perhaps "J. E.," the author of the interesting account of Yspytty Ifan, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1860, may find these notes of more or less interest.

R. P.

Wirewood's Green, Chepstow, 2nd April, 1860.

#### THE SAGRANUS STONE, ST. DOGMAEL'S.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—The importance of the Sagranus stone cannot be estimated too highly, illustrating, as it does, the correct interpretation of the Ogham inscriptions, and also affording a corroboration of Welsh history. The following observations are offered towards the elucida-

tion of this interesting subject.

Who was Sagranus, and can it be proved that he was the son of Cunedha Wledig? Sagranus is the Latinized form of the Welsh name Saeran. It is a rule in Welsh and Irish that mutable consonants, when not initial, should change into the secondary form. In Latinized words the primary form is always preserved, thus Cunotamus, which is quoted by Zeuss, 109, from the Orell. Inscriptions, is in Welsh Cuneday, and the d has been subjected again to the same process, to form Cunedhav, or Cunedha. Latin words adapted by the Welsh have been subjected to the same rule; thus L. cupidus, became in ancient British, cupid, in later Welsh, cybydh. L. cubitus, =W. cubit, cuvydh. L. Petrus,=W. Petr, Pedr. L. creatura,= W. creatur, creadur. L. patella,=W. patell, padell. Now the secondary mutation of g, is gh, but gh is mute, and has no sound in Welsh, or Irish, nor yet in English, as in sigh, plight, plough, &c. Thus tig, a house, in old Welsh, and teg, in old Irish, became tigh, in Welsh, and tegh, or tigh, in Irish; but as the Welsh write phonetically, a house is now called and written ti, or ty, and though the Irish preserve the derivation, yet tigh in Irish, has exactly the same sound as ti in Welsh. So again a king in old Welsh is rig. =Lat. rex (reg-s) regis, and rig in old Irish. But righ, a king in modern Irish, is pronounced as the modern Welsh ri, or rhi. The excussion, or destitution, of the g is seen by comparing the W. rhian, a queen, with Lat. regina, and Irish, rioghan, and W. saeth, an arrow, with Lat. sagitta, and Irish saighead. In like manner Sagranus is the Latinized form of Saeran, and of this there can be no doubt.

Among the Saints recorded in Bonedh y Saint, in the Myvyrian Archaiology, is Saeran, who is said to have been the son of Geraint Saer, of Ireland, and to have been buried in the church of Llanynys, Denbighshire. As this person is supposed to be Kieranus filius artificis, mentioned by Usher as the founder of the Bishopric of Cloyne, between 520 and 550, this is much later than the period assigned to Cunedha, and this Saeran could have had no connection with our Sagranus; the name, however, is important, and has furnished

me with a clue to the solution of my problem.

The next question is, had Cunedha Wledig a son of the name of Saeran? He is said to have had eleven sons, whose names were Tibion, Arwystl, Ceredig, Dunod, Mael, Coel, Dogvael, Rhuvon, Einion Yrth, Oswal, and Gwron, but none of these appear at first sight to have any connection with Sagranus. We have many instances of Welsh names being translated into Latin, as Bleidhian into Lupus, but I think that I see an exact parallel in the case of Lles ab Coel, who was called also Lleurng, or Lleuver, which is the term translated into Lucius. Now Saeran signifies "an artisan" par excellence, and I believe it to be synonymous with Dograel. The prior element of the name, that is Doc, appears derived from the Latin doctus, which became in Welsh, first doct, and later doeth, learned or wise, but mael brings the matter almost to a certainty, for Dogvael, "learned in the arts," is really identical with Sacran. Dr. Owen Pughe defines mael to be "what is produced, obtained, or got by working; gain, profit, advantage; what is worked; work." Mael enters into the composition of many Welsh names, as Maeldav; Maelderw, or Dervael; Maelgad, or Cadvael; Maelgwn, or Cynvael; Maelog, Maelwg, and Maelyrus. The abbey of St. Dogmael's derives its name from another Dogvael, the son of Ithel ab Ceredig ab Cunedha, consequently the grandnephew of Dogvael ab Cunedha, and this shows the connection of the family with the neighbourhood. I shall be very glad to see a better solution from an abler archeologist.—I remain, &c.,

ROBERT WILLIAMS, M.A.

Rhydycroesau, Oswestry, April 23, 1860.

# Archeological Bates and Oneries.

Note 52.—VITRIFIED FORTS IN WALES.—Of these curious relices Scotland claims a monopoly as regards the rest of Her Majesty's dominions in this part of the world; but it is stated by a competent authority that, at Caerau Crwyni, on the most western of the roads from Corwen to Bala, are the remains of vitrified stones to be found with little trouble, just below the surface. Will any member of the Association, who resides convenient to the spot, take the trouble to ascertain this fact, and communicate the result to the pages of the Journal?

An Old Member.

N. 53.—ARMS OF THE ISLE OF MAN.—There is, I believe, no earlier instance of the triquetra of Man than the cross at St. Maughold, in the Isle of Man, a monument of the fourteenth century; but when this badge was first assumed as the arms of Man is a matter still subjudice. There is, however, a very much earlier example, except that the legs are not in armour, and that in a consular denarius of the Cornelian family, with the name of Marcellinus, supposed to be the son of Marcellus, consul in 698, or of Claudius Marcellus, who built a temple, which he decorated with the spoils of Syracuse, the reverse of this coin having such a temple. But, to whomsoever the coin is to be assigned, it is probably the earliest known example; if not, I shall be much obliged for information of some earlier example. D. D.

N. 54.—Welsh Carriers.—From a list of the carriers from London to the provinces, published in 1732, are the following notices:
—To St. Asaph, on Monday and Thursday, from the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate. Conway, Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Caernarvon, on Saturday, from the Bell, Friday Street. Denbigh, from the Blossoms Inn, St. Lawrence Lane, Monday and Saturday; from the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, Monday and Thursday. Montgomery and Newport, from the Bell, Wood Street, Friday. Monmouth, from the same Inn, Saturday. Newport in Monmouth-shire, from the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate, on Monday and Thursday. No conveyance of the kind appears to have accommodated Merionethshire. The above note may be of some interest, in showing what the amount of communication between the Principality and the metropolis was,—not only as to goods, but passengers, who generally travelled by such conveyance when they had no horses, or even the rude chaise of that time, at their disposal.

A TRAVELLER.

Query 101.—YSPYTTY IFAN.—Pennant, in his Tour to Scotland, states that the religious houses in Wales frequently established hospitia in wild districts for the accommodation of travellers, who otherwise would have found no shelter or resting-place. If these hospitia are to be distinguished from those founded by the Templars, or Hospi-

tallers, which were certainly not intended for the mere accommodation of travellers, what instances of the name of Yspytty still exist in Wales, besides that of Yspytty Ystrad Meuric, a cell, or hospitium, of Strata Florida? Yspytty Evan, in Denbighshire, so able a notice of which appears in the last Number of the Journal, and Yspytty Ystwith, in Cardiganshire, the former a commandery of the Hospitallers, and the latter thought to have been belonged to the same order, are well known; but are there other instances of this name occurring, which confirm Pennant's statement?

M. A.

### Miscellaueans Batices.

ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

—The day of meeting, at Gloucester, of this Society is altered to July 17th; the opening will take place on that day, the closing on the 24th.

SAGRANYS STONE.—Error.—A mistake of some importance, in explaining the engraving, occurs in p. 134, line 32, No. XXII. Instead of "M. and Q." read "R. and M."—H. L. J.

Instead of "M. and Q." read "R. and M."—H. L. J.

PLOUNEON.—Error.—I wish to correct a slight error that exists at p. 139 of the last Number. The articles found at Plouneon should have been described as shining with such a lustre as almost to give the appearance of actual gilding. They have in fact never been gilt.

—R. F. LE MEN.

St. Maurice.—Error.—In Vol. V., Third Series, p. 186, of the Archæologia Cambrensis, the inscription on the tomb in the sacristy of St. Maurice is very incorrectly given. The proper reading is

## HIC: IACET. DÑA: MABILIA: QVONDÃ: VXOR:

## DNI: HELGOMARI: CORNVBÎE: MILITIS:-M. F. L.

LLANBLIAN CHURCH, DENBIGHSHIRE.—The church of this parish, which, though on the hills, is of the Clwydian type, equal double aisles, is now repairing under the superintendence of the Rector. The alterations will be strictly confined to the removing of the pewabominations, the reseating of the church, and the replacing of a chancel screen. We shall be curious to know the cost of this experiment.

ROMAN CAMPS, RADNORSHIRE.—We are informed by a correspondent that two camps, not hitherto known, have been found in this county, and we hope for a future communication on the subject. Radnorshire is much richer in antiquarian remains than even Mr. Jonathan Williams, its historian, suspected.

#### Reniems.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE KILKENNY ARCHÆGLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vol. II. 1858. Nos. 13 to 18.

There occurs in the 13th Number of this Journal a paper interesting to Welsh antiquaries, entitled, "Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, giving some account of his Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II." This person, as members are aware, travelled in Wales at the same time, and left a MS. account of his tour, which is now in the Library of Badminton, but which we hope, through the liberality of its noble owner, may at some future time be communicated to our Association. This Irish account is, as we have said, interesting, because in that portion of it which is now before us, the author draws a comparison between Irish and Welsh names, which is sure to excite the curiosity of many amongst us. We therefore give a portion of it verbatim, omitting the learned notes of Dr. O'Donovan, because they do not immediately concern us, and leaving our readers to draw inferences, and institute comparisons, which will readily offer themselves.

"LANGUAGE.—The Language is spoke in the Throat like y Welch. It is sharp and sententious, with quick apothegmes and proper allusions, wherefore their com'on Jesters, Bards, and Rimers, are very pleasant to those that

are well vers"t in the sd Language.

"The true Irish differeth so much from what they com'only speake, that it is rare to meet with one who can either write, read, or understand it, unless it be a learn'd Irish Schoolmaster, who setts much by himself upon that score; wherefore it is prescrib'd among certein their Poetes and other Irish students of Antiquity. They have also a distinct character from us, an Alphabet whereof was bestow'd on me at Rallahine Castle, in the county of Clare.

"They differ also so in their speaking since their Rebellion, and their very language is so confounded, that of different countreys they understand one another not without difficulty. Though they that do speake English here throughout the whole Kingdom speake it generally better and more London-

like than in most places of England.

"This language hath an affinity with the Welch, according to the learned Antiquary Cambden, who calleth y great number of British words in use among the Irish infinitam vim Britannicarum dictionum; he believes also that they first inhabited this land.

"The chief followers of Strongbow in y conquest of this nation under Hen. 2<sup>d</sup> were Welsh and borderers, as [blank in original], Walshes, &c. In the Bishoprick of Loghlin, there is a Town call'd Villa Wallicorum anciently.

The Walshes by name were possess't among [blank in original].

"Lis also in Brittish signifieth a Search and Craigwading also received its name from the Brittish."

"Lis also in Brittish also in Brittish signifieth a Search and Carrison, fronting part of Scotland as Dunbritan Fyrth Water, Arren Isles, Dunanart Castle, &c.); elsewhere are Craig-mont Griffin in the county of Wicklow; Carreg in Shurie; Carrigasspin; Craig-Owhny Castle, whereof the Walshes of Worcestershire once had possession, whose Chappel is adjoining to y ruines of Abbey Owny, the prospect of which Craig Owhny I have touched off page [ ]; and Craigwading also received its name from the Brittains.

"Lis also in Brittish signifieth a Court or Pallace, of which in the

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Kingdom of Ireland are Lisfenin, Lismore, Lislofty, Lismakery, Liskaloge, anciently belonging to the Mac Mahones, now in the hands of George Ross,

Esq as tenant to Henry Earle of Thomond.

"Glyn, or Glan, are British words; of these you have in Ireland Glinmoloura, Glandmelurr, or Glanmelour, neer which is a famous spaw water, within less than two small miles of Ballendery, the estate of Mr. Henry Temple, in the county of Wicklow, whose mansion house I have sketch't out, page [ ].

page [ ].
"Glangibbon, Glinregnold, Glynburry, Glyndelory, and Glyn, belonging to
Maior Fits Gerald, in the county of Limerick, whose scituation, see page [ ].

Innis, Inis, or Enish, signifying an Island in Welch and Irish, or other British, occasion'd these propper names in Ireland, as Inis-Corthie, Inissirocan, Enish Mac Ony, Enish Erkey, Enish Jerbied, Enish Kirked, which four last islands are the propper estate of the noble Henry Earle of Thomond, which so abound in venison that at the season, in boats between these Islands, I have seen his hunts-men halter at-trap, and put ropes upon y heads of good bucks in the water. Inishoven, Inisdiock, Inisnag.

"Rath, signifying a large ditch, moate, or trench, or lough, in *Irish* as well as *Brüish*, hath form'd several names,—as Rathfoelane Castle and Mote,

belonging to Mr. Henry Colpoys, a very worthy English gentleman.

"Many of the moats, as well as the forts encompassed, were first made by the Danes. Beda will have Rathe a Saxon word, and many places in this kingdome are compounded therewith; but it is mostly thought British. Stanihurst sayth Omnes Insulæ locos et lacos [lucus] Wallici nominis gloria implevit. The Renown of the Welsh name hath filled all the places and

groves of the Isle of Ireland.

"IRISH BURIALLS.-Monsieur Muret, translated by Mr. Lorrain, concerning Rites of Funerall, ancient and modern, page 131, chap. 8, speaks of the Caribees, who inhabit the Antilee-Islands. Concerning their Howlings and Lamentations, wherewith they entertein the dead corps, to which they add the most ridiculous and nonsensicall discourses imaginable. And not much unlike ye vulgar Irish. They talk to him of the best Fruits their Country doth afford, telling him that he might have eaten of them as much as he would. They put him in mind of the Love his family had for him, and the reputac'on he lived in, &c., reproaching him above all for dying, as if it had been in his power to prevent it. As for example:—They tell him, Thou might'st have lived so well, and made so good cheer. Thou dids't want neither Manioc, nor Potato's, Bananes, nor Ananes. As y' Irish, Thou dids't want nor Usquebath, Oat-cakes, Sweet milk, Bonny clobber, Mallahaune, Dilisk, Slugane, good Spoals. How is it, then, that thou diedst? Thou didst live in so great esteem with all men, every one did love and respect thee; what is the matter, then, that thou art dead? Thy friends and Relac'ons were so kind to thee, their greatest care was onely to please thee and to lett thee lack nothing; pray tell us, then, why didst thou think of dying? Thou wast so usefull and serviceable to the countrey, thou hadst signaliz'd thyself in so many Battells, thou wast our defence and security from the assault and fury of our enemies; why is it, then, that thou art dead?

"Which last words are allwayes the Burthen of the Howle and Song to both people, and the conclusion of all their complaints, which they repeat 1000 times, reckoning over all the actions of his life, with all the advantages

wherewith he was endow'd.

"This done, y' Irish bury their dead, and if it be in or neer y' burying place of that family, the servants & followers hugg kiss howle and weep over the skulls that are there digg'd up & once a week for a quarter of an yeer after come two or three and pay more noyse at the place.

"The aforenamed Indians instead of laying out their dead, they bind

them upp in y° same form as they lay in y° womb, thus—having wash't it carefully they colour it over w'th red, rub his head with oyle, comb y° hair; this being done, they bind his legs to his thighs, and put his elbowse between his leggs, tying down his face upon his hands, in y° usual posture as an infant is in y° belly of his mother; then they swaddle it up in linnen for buriall, which is in a grave round like a tun, w'th various ceremonies, w'th see Muret, page 133."

Does not the latter part of this extract throw light on the peculiar position in which human remains have been found in these stone houses, cromlechs, or cistvaens? and also on the burial in enormous urns or jars, as found in the Troas, in the Cimmerian Chersonesus, &c.?

There are several other suggestive notes among these remarks;

but we have not space to do more than thus advert to them.

In No. 18, pp. 204, 205, we find an account of the remains of an Irish oak bridge at New Ross, which is conjectured to have formed part of that erected by the great Earl Mareschal, in the reign of Hen. III., to connect Kilkenny with Wexford; and, as such, we commend it to the special notice of Mr. Clark, the learned author of "The Earls, Earldom, and Castle of Pembroke."

The leaden and pewter tokens, issued in Ireland in former days, are described in No. 18, by Dr. Aquilla Smith. A similar paper on the local coinage of Youghal, by the Rev. S. Hayman, gives us the description, among others, of three tradesmen's tokens having Welsh

names; and we quote them as follows:-

"Jones, Thomas.—I have failed in identifying this individual. I cannot trace him either in the Municipal Lists, or in the Parish Register. The name, originally Welsh, i.e. ap John, or Johnes, is of old occurrence in Youghal Dr. Meredith Hanmer, the chronicler, when Warden of Youghal College, demised, on the 27th of October, 1602, that foundation, along with all its lands, tithes, tenements, and offerings, to William Jones, Esq., of Youghal, in trust for Sir Walter Raleigh. From him, possibly, this Thomas Jones was descended. The device is an anchor, and would appear to indicate that the issuer was a seaman, perhaps a master mariner. The token is of copper, resigning given raping sing the orbitat of Dr. A. Smith

weighing sixteen grains, and is in the cabinet of Dr. A. Smith.

"Merrick, John.—This family was of Welsh extraction. In the Principality they used, and still use, the spelling 'Meyrick.' The individual who put forth this token was Bailiff of Youghal in 1667, and Mayor in 1677. An old volume, once his property, is in the possession of his lineal descendant, Mr. Jeremiah Merrick, of No. 83, North Main-street, Youghal. It is a copy of the 'Breeches' Bible (including Apocrypha), 'imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queen's Maiestie, 1589;' and contains numerous entries of births, marriages, and burials in the family, commencing with January 30, 1664-65. The token bears a shield, charged with two chevronels between three fleurs-de-lis. The specimen engraved is of copper, and weighs 24 grains. It is in Dr. A. Smith's collection.

with two chevronels between three neurs-ue-us. The specimen engineers of copper, and weighs 24 grains. It is in Dr. A. Smith's collection.

"VAUGHAN, THOMAS.—This gentleman was of a Brecknockshire family, who bore for arms, as the token before us exhibits, three human heads, full-faced, couped. He was Bailiff of Youghal in 1654. Next year he was chosen Town Clerk, as Cooke informs us, 'by unanimous consent." In 1658 his name appears in the Municipal List as Mayor. He appears to have had (with perhaps others) three children:—1. John, who married, July 20, 1682, Jane, eldest daughter of Samuel Hayman, Esq., of South Abbey; 2. Elizabeth, married, September 28, 1675, to Robert Ball, Esq., of Youghal, from

whom descended our gifted naturalist, the late Robert Ball, LL.D.; and 3rd. Anne, married, January 6, 1680-81, to Francis Baker, Esq. Vaughan's token is of copper. The specimen from which our engraving is made weighs 37 grains, and is in Dr. A. Smith's collection. Another specimen is in the British Museum. A third is in the possession of Mr. John Burke, sexton of St. Mary's, Youghal."

THE ANCIENT CORNISH DRAMA. By Edwin Norris, Esq., Sec. R.A.S. (Third Notice).

We turn to this valuable work for the third time with undiminished interest; and we begin with some further extracts from the Appendix, relating to the Cornish language and grammar. Mr. Norris says,—

"The helps to a knowledge of the language have hitherto been few. Lhuyd, in his Archæologia Britannica, printed a grammar, which was a practical treatise, though deficient in arrangement; but unfortunately it was adapted to the corrupt dialect spoken in his day, oddly described by Scawen as 'altogether obsolete and almost obliterate,' rather than to the purer Cornish of the manuscripts. More assistance might have been got out of Keigwyn's literal translations of Mount Calvary, Jordan's Creation, and the Ordinalia; but the two former remained in manuscript till 1826 and 1827, and were then so wretchedly printed as often to mislead instead of instructing; and the version of the last, though occasionally mentioned in the earlier part of the last century, had disappeared, and was supposed to be lost, until a copy was discovered in August, 1857. The Vocabulary printed by Pryce in 1790 was more useful; but the Grammatica Celtica of Zeuss, published at Leipzig in 1853, is the only work which furnishes a good and scientific view of the language. This work of extraordinary acumen and unwearied industry has rendered a far greater service to Celtic literature than anything ever published, and native Celts, who would advance the claims and the knowledge of their own languages, will hardly succeed without following in the steps of Zeuss. The Cornish portion of this grammar is small compared to the mass of information contained in the whole work, and it is founded almost entirely on Keigwyn's version of the Mount Calvary, as printed in 1826; it is generally of perfect accuracy, and in the few cases where Zeuss has erred, he has been misled by the ignorance of Keigwyn and his Editor, whose frequent blunders he has often corrected with intuitive sagacity."

Mr. Norris touches slightly upon Scawen, Gwavas, and Tonkin; but observes that the Cornish student has many obligations to Keigwyn, notwithstanding that he was but a blundering scholar. He then animadverts upon a peculiar piece of literary mal-appropriation, not without an antitype at the present day. His words are,—

"In the course of his labours, the Editor has frequently made reference to Dr. Pryce's Vocabulary, as a work to which he has been under great obligation, and without which he would not have ventured on a translation of the Cornish Dramas. He has also had frequent occasion to notice the gross and even ludicrous errors in the work. He had long conceived vague suspicions of Pryce's claim to the authorship of this Vocabulary from certain parts of the Preface, more particulary where he speaks of an old man at Mousehole, 'at this time.... capable of holding half an hour's conversation.... in the Cornish tongue;' and the concluding paragraph in which he talks of 'the vulgar Cornish now spoken;' this, be it observed, ostensibly written in 1790, twenty years after the reputed death of the last solitary speaker of the language. The doubts caused by these passages were removed by the inspection of a manu-

script in the Library of the Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, purchased a few years ago from the descendants of Mr. Scawen. This manuscript contains the whole of Pryce's publication; and the Preface, which is dated in 1736, and signed by Tonkin himself, is, as I understand from the Prince, identical with that printed, excepting only a phrase or two altered to suit the alteration of circumstances. The allusions to the spoken language, so unintelligible in 1790,

became quite obvious when made fifty years earlier.

"Such a discreditable assumption of the work of another man would hardly have been hazarded unless the author of it had been persuaded that the original manuscript was destroyed. The probability is that Pryce had in his possession a copy of the manuscript, and from the long interval of time, more than half a century, since the work had been heard of, coupled with the belief that all the writings of Lhuyd had been burnt, he thought his copy was the only one in existence, and that he might pass it off as his own without fear-of detection.

"The borrowed plumes being thus plucked away from Pryce by the discovery of the original manuscript, the question remains, who was the author? The reply should be, in the writer's opinion, Lhuyd himself. Lhuyd in a letter to Tonkin dated the 29th November, 1700, printed by Pryce, says, 'I am engaged in composing a dictionary of the British language;' and in another dated the 8th February, 1703, he says, speaking of Cornwall, 'a Vocabulary as copious as I can make it I design to insert (God willing) in my Archæologia Britannica.' On the 8th December of the same year, he says, 'I am now upon the Cornish Vocabulary promised in the proposals;' meaning 'proposals for printing the Archæologia,' mentioned in a letter of 26th July, 1703. Now in the Address to the Gentlemen of Cornwall, printed without a translation in the Archæologia, at p. 222, he says, 'mi rykavaz me honan kelmez dho skrefa neb 'ramàtek ha zerlevar rag 'oz Tavaz huei;' i. e. I have felt myself bound to write a Grammar and Vocabulary for your Language. Finally, at p. 253 of the Archæologia, he says, 'I find that I must recall the promise made, p. 222. of a Cornish-English Vocabulary. I have one by me, written about six years since, and have lately improv'd it with what Additions I could; but there being no room for it in this Volume, which . is not much, if at all, to exceed a hundred sheets, it must be deferred to the The next was never published, and Lhuyd's Vocabulary was no more The remark of Lhuyd, translated at p. 315 of this volume, that he had marked with the words taken out of the old Vocabulary, appears to identify his work with that printed by Pryce, where all the words taken out of that manuscript are so marked.

"But it is further the opinion of the writer, that the work of Lhuyd received many additions from persons very inferior to the original author. It abounds with errors which it is impossible to attribute to so intelligent a man as Lhuyd, whose Archæologia Britannica must place him in a high rank among comparative philologists, at a period when comparative philology, in any other hands was little better than crude conjecture. Several instances of gross blundering are pointed out in the course of the translation, but there are some which it would be impossible for a Welshman to make: such as nuibren, 'a cloud,' instead of huibren, the Welsh wybren; guner for guver, 'a brook,' the Welsh gofer; elgent instead of elgeht, 'the chin,' Welsh elgeth; and many others.

"The conclusion must be that Tonkin or Gwavas, perhaps both in conjunction, took Lhuyd's Vocabulary and enlarged it, and that what we have

under Pryce's name is the result."

In our next review we shall go into the archæological topography, and afterwards into the dramatical portion of this learned work.

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Geneticke Gastle from the N "

# Archwologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXIV.—OCTOBER, 1860.

THE EARLS, EARLDOM, AND CASTLE OF PEMBROKE.

No. VIII,

THE HOUSE OF VALENCE.

(Continued from p. 195.)

The last section of this history described the division of the inheritance of the Mareschals, Earls of Pembroke, and the consequent destruction of a great baronial power; we are next to see by what successive steps even a larger estate was established in the descendants of their second coheir, by the successive absorption of the houses of Valence, Munchensy, Fitz-John, Vesci, Flamvile, Banister, Huntingdon, Braose, Briwere, Cantelupe, Leybourn, Manny, and Brotherton, and their accumulation upon the family of Hastings. This estate, however, from the frequent minorities of its owners, was never obnoxious to the crown, down to the time when it also in turn was dismembered upon the extinction, in 1390, of the eldest of the many lines of the house of Hastings.

Upon the death of Earl Anselm Mareschal, in 1245, and the dispersion of his inheritance, the elder coheirs were favourably regarded, as has been shown, in the distribution of the dignities, Maud having the office of Mareschal, and the husband of the daughter of Joan

Mareschal the earldom of Pembroke.

Before, however, we reach this event, it will be proper ARCH. CAMB., THIRD SERIES, VOL. VI. 2 L

to point out the descent and possessions of Warine de Munchensy, the husband of Joan Mareschal, as these latter added very materially to the influence and wealth of the future earls.

The Munchensys were barons of great power, whose possessions lay in Kent, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and some other counties, and who were not unknown in West Wales; nevertheless, as their male line early became extinct, or passed into obscurity, their pedigree has not been recorded with accuracy, and much of its detail is

very doubtful.

Hubert de Roche-Canard, Monte-Canisio, or Munchensy, whose name affords a good example of the ordinary nominal translations of that age, received from the Conqueror the manor of Edwardston, in Suffolk, (Morant, Essex, ii. 35,) and left a son Ralph, who was virtually the founder of the family, and whose acquisitions are largely quoted in the Quo Warranto Rolls of Edward I. He was much in favour with Henry III.; and, besides other possessions, was lord of the honour of Munchensy, the chief seat or "caput" of which was at Swaynescamp, in Kent, an important manor, owing service to Rochester Castle, and remaining united with it to our times, when it, with the castle, was purchased by the Childs. (Hasted, i. 262, 277.) This was granted to him, on its forfeiture by Odo, in 1094.

An Honour was a great barony, held in chief of the crown, of which inferior baronies formed the parts. Every honour had a caput, or chief seat, commonly a castle, and, according to Cruise, never a town. Several honours were created by the Conqueror, and the details of that of Richmond are preserved in the curious volume called "Registrum Honoris de Richmond."

Ralph is styled by later generations of his family "Consanguineus," which agrees with those accounts that make him the eldest son of Hubert, but as dying childless. His heir was his brother Warine, who married Agnes, daughter and finally sole heir of Payne Fitz-John, Lord of Ludlow, and of Painswick in Gloucestershire,

and widow of Roger Bigod. She had Sutton Manor for

her dower. (Eyton, Salop, v. 243.)

Warine and Agnes left issue *Hubert* de Munchensy, living in 1186 and 1229, when he had Hacon, in Great Melton, in Norfolk. He seems to have had an elder brother, Sir William, who died childless, leaving Goodeston and other lands to the heirs of Hubert.

Hubert was sheriff of Herts, and in that capacity violated the privileges of the men of Trenge, which, though in Herts, was in the honour of Bologne, and visitable only by the custos of that honour, not by the

sheriff. (Rolls, i. 8.)

He married Muriel de Longeva, or Langtoft, daughter of Sir Peter de Valoines, and left issue, Ralph, who died s. p., William, and others. This part of the pedigree is exceedingly obscure; but William appears to have married Alice, daughter of William d'Albini, Earl of Arundel. He held Foxley and Clay, two Norfolk manors of the honour of Richmond, (Reg. Hon. de Richmond, p. 46,) Hanerfield, by the service of seven knights' fees; and in Essex, Layer-de-la-Haye, or Munchensy, Pitton, Finchinfield, Stansted, Hengham-sible, Brendehall, Weston, Beauchamp-William, Wylingihale, Mannhall, Bolegrave, and Brenyng. (Morant, i. 411.)

William and Alice left issue,—1. William, who died 6 John, 1204, leaving William, who had Swaynescamp, but died s. p.; 2. Warine; 3. Ralph, who left issue.

Warine was heir to his nephew William. In 1204 he was in ward to William, Earl of Arundel, his mother's brother, who was to pay for him 1000 marks, afterwards postponed for five years, as were the claims of the Jews upon the estate. (Rot. de Obl. 227.) With this wardship the earl had a fee in Stafford. (T. de Nevill, p. 54.) In 1213, Warine paid 2000 marks to have livery of the whole inheritance, and to be quit of his debts to the Jews. (R. de O. 515.)

He was an active soldier, and added much to the wealth of the family. Besides the honour of Munchensy, he held lands in Sussex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Bucks,

Berks, Gloucester and Hereford. 7 Henry III., he took scutage of all his military tenants, and accompanied the king into South Wales, where he acquired lands. In 1241 he was taxed for the marriage of Isabel, daughter of Henry III., to the Emperor Frederick II. 24th May, 1242, he received twenty marks for the freight of two ships to convey his train from Portsmouth to Gascony (Issues of the Exch., 26 Henry III., 25); and, 31 Henry III., he gave a palfrey, worth five marks, to be allowed a plaint before the king. (Hist. of Exch. i. 4, 46.) He died 1255, reputed "the richest and most prudent baron of his time, and one of the most powerful;" and having married, as has been already related, Joan Mareschal.

Their eldest son, John de Munchensy, died childless; William was the second; and Joan, the ultimate heiress,

who married William de Valence, the third.

Sir William de Munchensy did homage for his lands in 1257, and was summoned to Parliament 24th December, 1264. In that year he commanded a division of Leicester's army at Lewes. Just before the battle of Evesham he was made prisoner by Prince Edward at Kenilworth, and, 50 Henry III., his lands were forfeited to William de Valence, who restored them two years later, though it was not until 6 Edward I. that he obtained a free pardon, and 8 Edward I. a full restoration of his lands in fee. 17 Edward I., 1289, he joined the Earl of Cornwall against Rhys ap Griffith, and during the campaign he and several of his men were crushed beneath the wall of Drysllwyn Castle, which they were engaged in under-The wall fell upon him, says the Chronicler, 'et ita in amaritudine cordis et vultu incomposito tributum mortis persolvebat. (B. Cotton, H. Angl. 168; Coll. Top. v. 389.)

Sir William married Dionysia, daughter and heiress of Nicholas de Anesty of Braxted, Herts, son of Hubert, (son of Richard) de Anesty of Anesty, co. Herts, and who in 1199 held 10 fees in Essex and Herts, (Morant i. 450,) and married Agnes daughter of William de Sackvile. Dionysia, who had Braxted, with Swaynescamp, Bocton-Muchensy and other family manors, survived her husband. (Exc. e R. F. ii. 213; P. de Q. W. 311.) They had issue William, who held Hassingbroke and Hacon, and died childless, 1287; and Dionysia, whose legitimacy was perseveringly but without success attacked by De Valence, the husband of her aunt and heir-at-law. As in the Parliamentary plea (Rolls i. 16,) it is stated that the mother of Dionysia was named Amicia, and that there was a doubt about the marriage, it is highly probably that she was only half sister to William, the last Baron.

On Sir William's death the commote of Estrelow was claimed by De Valence, but this, an old Mareschal fief, was seized by the king upon the forfeiture of Kario ap Howell, who seems to have held it as a feudal tenant.

De Valence next attacked the validity of a papal Bull, obtained by the Munchensys. He objected to the foreign authority, and impugned stoutly the legitimacy of Dionysia. It was proved that she had been acknowledged by her father, (Hasted, Kent, i. 258,) and her grandmother Joan Mareschal, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, all gave evidence in her favour. De Valence seems only to have established his position as the next heir. He was ordered not to proceed until Dionysia came of age, and meantime the King took charge of her lands. (Rolls, i. 16, 35-8; v. 625.) Her mother bought her wardship for 2000 marks, and 500 marks annually. She married Hugh de Vere, a cadet of Robert Earl of Oxford, about 25 Edward I, when he had livery of her lands, and became Lord of Swainscamp. The escheator also was ordered to surrender Buckton, co. Hereford, to Hugh and Dionysia de Vere, (Abb. r. Orig. i., 56, 116, 135,) and in 1303, Hugh presented, in her right, to Stewkley-Hall Church, in Norfolk.

It is satisfactory to find that Dionysia survived her covetous uncle. She was benefactress of a chapel on the North side of St. Paul, (Dugd. St. Paul's, 126,) and died childless, 7 Edward II., 1313, when her inheritance

passed to her heir and kinsman, Aymer de Valence, son of Joan Munchensy, and grandson of Joan Mareschal.

Munchensy bore, in the language of the time, "D'or a troys bendees de vaire et de goules," or, in modern heraldry, "Or, 3 escutcheons vair, azure and argent, on each 3 bars gules."

Having thus disposed of the Munchensys, the narrative

returns to William de Valence.

The Earldom of Pembroke, extinct with Anselm Mareschal in 1245, so remained, some say until 1247, but Dugdale had not met with it before 1264. The probability is rather in favour of the later date, though its revival, even then, was an act of discourtesy to the real heiress, who did not die until 1313. The uncertainty as to the date of creation may be due to the probability that the high personal rank of the new earl would render him careless of the assumption of any titular dignity.

IX.—WILLIAM DE VALENCE, Earl of Pembroke, and Lord of Weysford in Ireland, was a cadet of no inconsiderable family. His father, Hugh Le Brun, tenth of the name, was Lord of Lusignan and Earl of the March,

a border country between France and Poictou.

His mother, to whom Earl Hugh had been engaged in early life, was Isabel, only daughter of Aymer Earl of Angoulêsme, widow of King John, and mother of Henry

III., to whom de Valence was thus half brother.

Among the cadets of this House of Lusignan were the Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem, who bore "Barry of 10 argent and azure, a lion brochant gules, crowned or;" the Earls of Eu, Lords of the Honour of Tickhill, and of the Rape and Castle of Hastings, and who bore "Barry of 10 argent and azure, a file of 3 points;" and the Lords of Lezay, who bore "Barry of 10 argent and azure."

The children of Earl Hugh and Isabel, several of whom settled in England, were,—

1. Hugh, Lord of Lusignan, who bore Barry of 10 argent and azure, 6 lions rampant brochant, 3, 2, 1, gules.

2. Guy de Lusignan, who was present at the battle of

Lewes, and died 1281, leaving Alix, who married Gilbert the Red. Earl of Gloucester.

3. Geoffrey, died before 1263.

4. William de Valence, so called either from his birthplace, or because in the partition of the family estates he had Valence, as well as Montignac, Belac, Rancon, and Champagnac. (Anselm Hist. Geneal. de France, iii. 71.)

5. Aymer, Bishop of Winchester.

6. Agnes, married William De Chaungy.

7. Alfais, married John Earl Warren.

8. Isabeau, married Geoffrey de Rancon, and probably 2ndly, Maurice de Craon, leaving by him a daughter, who married Maurice de Berkeley, (Atkins's Glouc. 406.)

9. Margaret, 2nd wife of Raymond Earl of Thoulouse.

Such were the connexions of the new earl.

The House of Lusignan lost no time in profiting by their kin to Henry III. William, with his brothers, being oppressed by the King of France, migrated with their elder brother Guy, and their niece Alix, to England in 1247, 31 Henry III., where he speedily became very offensive to the English Barons, and was regarded as the chief of the king's needy foreign relations and favourites.

31st July, shortly after his arrival, he was made Governor of Goderich Castle, and married. On this occasion he had a grant to himself and his wife in tail general of 500 librates of land, and soon after of the manor of Newton, &c. (Dugd. Bar. i., 774; C. R. P. 21.) He

was also knighted by the king in public.

Soon afterwards he appeared at a tournament, given at Northampton by Richard Earl of Gloucester, and 32 Henry III. had a grant of the honour and castle of Hertford, confirmed 35 Henry III., with a large sum of money, as well as of all the debts due from William of Lancaster to the Jews throughout the realm. In this year also he laid the foundation of his unpopularity by a quarrel, at the Brackley tournament, with William de Odingsells, a great Warwickshire baron.

34 Henry III. he was signed with the cross, and on that plea had a royal precept empowering him to compel payment of service on his wife's estates. He also had the wardship of Robert Lord Fitz-Roger, for which Ada de Baliol the youth's mother had offered 1,200 marks. The principal royal Honour in West Wales was not in his hands, for 26th September, 1250, Henry committed to Robert Walerand the castles of Caermarthen and Cardigan, with the lands late of Maelgon ap Maelgon, and the isle of Lundy, he paying for them, during peace, 40 marks, and covenanting to give up the island in its present state as to farming stock and utensils. (Exc. e R. F. ii. 87; Foss ii. 504).

2nd July, 1251, 36 Henry III., the king being at Marlborough remitted to De Valence his share of £400 rent, payable from his wife to Countess Alianor, in dower on her Irish lands. (Exc. e R. F. ii. 109.) This followed the partition of the previous 16th June, by which the payment of this dower was divided among the Mareschal co-heirs. In the same year he held a manor court at Ashendon, Bucks, for his wife's Giffard lands. In this year Simon de Montfort returned to England, and gave great offence by bringing over with him Guy de Lusignan, De Valence's brother.

At this period, 7th June, 1251, the bailiff of Caermarthen did duty as a sheriff, in securing the crown dues. (Exc. e R. F. ii. 107.) In 1252 Rhys ap Rhys Vachan, a landowner in Caermarthen, gave 20 marks to have the franchises held by his ancestor under Prince Llewelyn. (Ibid. ii. 143.)

Wales was now tolerably quiet. De Valence and the Bishop of Bangor declared officially the Marches to be subdued to the English law, and Alan la Zouch the justiciary and a Marcher of the Cheshire border, raised 1100 marks, where his predecessor, John de Grey, had raised but 500.

36 Henry III. he compounded with the Mohuns for their claims on Earl Anselm's Irish estate, settled on the earl's widow, the Countess of Lincoln. In this year also

<sup>&</sup>quot;Instaurum," all the stock of a farm, cattle, utensils, servants. (Ducange).

he is found indulging in a sort of raid from his Castle of Hertford, hunting without license in the Bishop of Ely's park at Heathfell, breaking into his grange, bursting open the buttery door in search of something better than common ale, and then, ungrateful roysterer, swearing and cursing at the drink, and them that brewed it. Having drunk their fill of the best wine in the cellar, he and his crew pulled out the spigots, and let the episcopal wine out on the floor, and finished all by abusing the servants. (Chauncy, *Herts*, 238.) Three days after this Geoffrey de Lusignan, another brother, was guilty of a riot in St. Alban's Abbey. No wonder that men exclaimed against the foreign favourites.

37 Henry III., the earl married his niece Alix le Brun, giving her 5,000 marks, to Gilbert, son and heir of Richard Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. The two earls went abroad with splendid retinues to celebrate the marriage. The French ridiculed their curled locks, effeminate garb, and delicate figures, and finally set upon

and beat them severely.

1st October, 39 Henry III., De Valence had the wardship of the lands and heiress of Roger son of John de Valoines. (Exc. e R. F. ii. 216.) In the same year Henry, having promised him 2,200 marks for the maintenance of his soldiers in Palestine, of which only £90 was paid, gave an order upon the Abbot of Westminster for the balance, and 41 Henry III. again remitted him a debt of 400 marks, due as his share of the Countess of Leicester's dower. Also he had summons to attend at Chester with horse and arms preparatory to a Welsh campaign. (Dugd. i. 775.)

41 Henry III., De Valence had the manor of Gainsborough co. Lincoln, and Uffington co. Suffolk, and free warren and freedom from forest waste in the parks of Colingbury and Newton, (C. R. P. 29,) with the escheated lands in Northumberland of Waleran de Hor-

ton, a Norman. (Exc. e R. F. ii. 264.)

In 1258, 42 Henry III., we find him calling Simon de Montfort in open Parliament an old traitor, and giving ARCH. CAMB., THIRD SERIES, VOL. VI. 2 M

him the lie. This was the sort of conduct that in May led De Montfort and other lords to appear armed before Henry at Westminster. "Am I then your prisoner?" said Henry. "No, Sire," replied Roger Bigod, with a boldness that must have reminded the king of his Mareschal blood, "but by your leaning to foreigners, and your own waste, the realm is come into great grief."

A meeting was agreed upon at Oxford for the 11th There, attended by his obnoxious brothers, the king met the barons, and was compelled by the "mad Parliament," in the well known "Provisions of Oxford," to swear to preserve the liberties granted by John, and already confirmed by himself. The king gave way with reluctance, but his brothers declined to support him, and refused to render up their castles. Upon this De Montfort, addressing William de Valence, said, "This hold for sure, either you give up your castles, or you lose your head." On this William, and his brothers Guy and Aymer, Bishop-elect of Winchester, fled at once to Wolvesham, a castle belonging to Aymer, where they were surrounded by the barons. Finally they all, 5th July, accepted an escort and safe conduct to Dover, and so, 18th July, went beyond sea. 3,000 marks, deposited by William at Waltham Abbey, were, on the 8th July, directed to be sent to him at Dover, and he had a grant of certain lands from the Norman forfeitures, probably for his support (C. R. P. 30.) Possibly it was at this time that the king repaid him a loan of £100. (Iss. of Exc., 42 Henry III., 39.)

The French king refused them a passage; upon which William, son of Simon de Montfort, besieged them in Boulogne, whence towards August William de Valence

escaped into Poictou.

About the 1st November, Joan, who seems to have acted cordially with her husband, demanded an allowance from her estates, and obtained lands to about 400 to 500 marks, half her reputed rental. On this she raised money, and, skilfully concealing it in woolpacks, crossed the seas to Poictou.

William de Bussy, De Valence's unpopular seneschal, was committed to the tower and condemned to death, while his master was banished and declared an alien.

In January, 1259, Richard Earl of Cornwall returned from Germany, but was prevented from landing until he had taken an oath to observe the "Provisions," and not to bring in the king's brothers. Unwillingly, and after receiving the king's commands, he complied, and was solemnly sworn in the Chapter-House of Canterbury. (Ann. of Burton, 421.)

In the meantime the king, gaining strength by the dissentions of Montfort and De Clare, procured a Bull annulling his adhesion to the provisions, and recalled De Valence, who, on the 30th of April, was formally received

into his favour at Rochester. (C. R. P. 33.)

In 1262 Henry visited France, and De Clare being dead, De Montfort returned to England, and formed an intimacy with the new earl his son. Prince Edward collected the royal adherents, and De Valence among them, who took part in the operations before Northampton, and marched with the royal forces to Lewes. Henry returned to

England in March.

At the battle which followed, 14th May, 1264, De Valence and Earl Warren held commands in the van. They assisted in the first attack, but after the king's surrender they fled to Pevensey, and fell once more under the ban of De Montfort and his party. The Earl of Cornwall took refuge in a mill, where "flour without glory" was his portion. The barons surrounded it, crying out, "come down, come down, thou worst of millers, come out!" (Chr. of Mailros, 227.) On the 6th June, Pembroke Castle, with De Valence's western estate, was committed to the charge of the Earl of Gloucester.

18th June, Countess Joan, then pregnant, was ordered to quit Windsor Castle, with Alianor, Prince Edward's wife. The Countess was directed to seek some religious house or convenient place, until her confinement. (Dug. i. 715.)

De Montfort's successes led to jealousies in his party,

and notably between himself and the Earls of Gloucester and Derby. Encouraged by this De Valence returned, and in May, 1265, landed with Earl Warren and 120 knights in Pembrokeshire, and, 10th May, they sent the Prior of Monmouth to demand from De Montfort the restoration of their estates. But he, master of the persons of both king and prince, required, 24th May, the presence of the earls in the first instance at Hereford. P. 37.) Upon this they united with Gloucester and assisted in the escape of Prince Edward from Hereford on the eve of Trinity Sunday, 30th May. They then, with Prince Edward, blockaded the Earl of Leicester in Newport, but he broke down the bridge, and having forced Henry to sign an ignominious peace with Llewelyn, escaped into Wales.

28th June, Henry was at Monmouth, and issued forced writs, proscribing De Valence and others as rebels. (C. R. P. 36.) Then followed the surprise of young Simon de Montfort in Kenilworth Priory, so graphically related by the Monk of Melrose, and finally, 4th August, the battle of Evesham, where Leicester fell with his eldest

son, and at which De Valence was present.

The tide had now turned. De Valence at once had the wardship of Haverford Castle during the minority of Humphrey de Bohun, and a grant of the estates forfeited by De Munchensy, his brother-in-law. These he restored, 52 Henry III., receiving a pension from the Exchequer. At the same time the submission of Llewelyn gave peace to Wales, and enabled De Valence to derive some advantage from his estates there. He also had a fee in Allscote forfeited by H. de la Mare, (C. R. P. 40,) and 53 Henry III., was in a position to become surety for the Earl of Derby in £50,000 to Edmund, the king's son, who had a grant of the forfeited earldom. (Dug. i. 263.)

According to some accounts he accompanied Prince Edward to Palestine in 1270, with Edmund Crouchback, and thus entered upon the new reign with the favour of the young sovereign, his nephew. (Carter's Mon.

Brasses, 78.)

In November, 1271, Henry III. died, and was buried in the Abbey Church of Westminster, rebuilt by himself. The barons, led by the Earl of Gloucester, swore upon his unburied body fealty to Edward, who took peaceable possession of the kingdom on his tardy return in August, 1274.

During his absence, 1 Edward I., engineers were sent down to Abergavenny Castle, and the king's soldiers there had their wages advanced. (Iss. of Exch., 1 Ed. I., 84.) Llewelyn, decided upon asserting the independence of his country, declined to attend the coronation, and shortly afterwards passed into open war. This led to an invasion of North Wales, in which Edward put forth his full power, marching from his muster place at Shrewsbury, and removing his Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer with him. (Foss., iii. 16; Lingard, iii. 193; Leland, Coll. i. 459.)

He reconstructed Flint and Rhuddlan castles, and finally forced Llewelyn to submit, in 1277, on which his fines were remitted, and in 1278 his hostages restored, with his affianced bride Alianor, daughter of Simon de Montfort, who had been taken prisoner in the preceding year. (Grafton, 285; Rymer, ii. 88-97.)

Meantime De Valence obtained, 3 Edward I., a grant of Kilgaran Castle and the lands of St. Clere, which had been held in chief by the late George Cantelupe, (A. R. O. i. 23,) and, 4 Edward I., the sheriff of Hertford was directed to take for the king the demesne lands, held by the late Richard Mareschal in fee. (Ibid. 26.)

6 Edward I., 6th July, De Valence is named as one of the knights who are to be provided with armour, for a tournament in Windsor Park. (Archæologia, xvii. 297.) 8 Edward I., Edmund, the king's brother, exchanged with him the royal castles of Caermarthen and Cardigan, for Wirksworth and other Derbyshire manors. These castles with their counties, and the castles of Lampeter, Dynevor, Caerkenny, and Llandovery, had been held by Bogo de Knovill, the Welsh justiciary, during pleasure. (C. R. P. 48; A. R. O. i. 36.) 9 Edward I., a market

and fair were granted to the vill of Dynevor. (C. R. P. 50.) In this year, 1281, De Valence lost his eldest son, William, Lord of Montignac, who was slain by the Welsh near Llandeilo-vawr. (Powell, 298.)

Edward's clemency towards the Welsh proved rather premature. In 1282 they again rose, and Prince David surprised Hawarden Castle, and slaughtered the garrison. Edward at once raised the Marches, and in a short time, but after heavy losses, reduced Anglesey, and by the aid of forces at Caermarthen and about Builth brought Llewelyn to bay. He was slain in single combat in December, 1282. (Foss, iii. 16.) De Valence was in this expedition, and in 1283, 11 Edward I., took Prince David's castle of Bere. David himself was taken and executed, and so came to an end the ancient independence of Wales.

The year 1284 was employed by Edward in the securing and settlement of his new conquest. The North Wales castles were strengthened and armed, and by the Statutum Walliæ, (St. of Realm, i., 68,) the English law of inheritance was introduced into Wales, allowing dowers to widows, shutting out bastards, who seem previously to have been admitted to the privileges of legitimacy, and on the failure of male heirs, admitting females to inherit. He also sanctioned the custom of the country, by which lands were divisible among male heirs. About this time, 13 Edward I., De Valence and his Countess claimed certain lands at Narberth-Wolphage against Matilda de Mortimer, a rival co-heir.

Having thus settled Wales, and bestowed some attention on the affairs of England, Edward went abroad in May, 1286, leaving the Earl of Pembroke as regent of the kingdom, a proof of the extent to which the king's firm and just government had removed the popular jealousy of his relatives. The appointment, however, was not a fortunate one. Pembroke wanted firmness, and on the king's return in August, 1289, 17 Edward I., he found, among other abuses, great corruption in the judicial bench, which it was his first care to punish with great but not undue severity. (Foss, iii. 38.)

In the 18th Edward I. Pembroke made a strong attempt, already mentioned, to bastardize his wife's niece, by contesting the decision of the Bishop of Worcester. He brought the matter twice before Parliament, but without success. The proceedings will be found recorded at some length in the Rolls of Parliament, 16 and 38.

It is probable that Dionysia de Vere was either weak in intellect, or that it was known that she was not likely to have children, for the king appears to have vested in De Valence, as the reversioner of the estates, all those rights and parcels of it which could be split off and regranted, possibly as being held by male tenure only. Thus we find him claiming for his wife, as heir of Earl Walter, the whole "regale" of the earldom, with a chancellor, seal, and power of holding courts for the trial of pleas of the crown. These had been held by John de Munchensy, her brother, who had exercised the jurisdiction contended for.

Pembroke seems to have been impeded in the free exercise of this jurisdiction by the queen, who had the lordship of Haverford. The dispute between the officers came to a head in 1291, in the case of William Martin, whose lands lay in the barony of Cemaes, over which the Earl of Pembroke claimed jurisdiction. (Rolls, i. 69.) The port of Milford was also contended for between them. (Ibid. 84.) John Wogan, who, though a justice, seems to have acted for Pembroke, with about 50 men entered the queen's court held in the castle, and stopped the proceedings. (Ibid. 31.)

It appears that the dispute had been submitted to John Wogan and Hugh de Cressingham, and by them laid before Parliament.

Cressingham there complained that Wogan had impeded the proceedings in the queen's court, to which Wogan responded that he did so to prevent one of the earl's tenants from swearing fealty to the Queen. (Foss, iii. 174.) It appeared in evidence that Earl Walter Mareschal held Haverford barony by a grant from King John, but as distinct from the earldom of Pembroke, and

that both he and John de Munchensy had a distinct seal and chancellor for Haverford. Also, that when De Clare held the lordship his courts were held inside, and the earl's outside the town. (Rolls, i. 31.)

Hugh de Cressingham, the queen's seneschal, was also one of her bailiffs for Haverford. He was an ecclesiastic, hated for his fraud and violence. He fell soon afterwards in battle against Wallace, who it was said had a sword belt made from his skin. (Tytler's Scotland, i. 123; Foss, and Rot. Parl. i. 30, 33.)

Queen Eleanor died 1290, on which occasion the custody of Haverford Castle, its lands and manor, and lands in St. Clare, were committed to Walter de Pederton, (A. R. O. i. 65,) who was to hold them for four years, paying annually to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the other executors, £620. (A. R. O. 70.) About this time Pembroke Priory is thus briefly noticed in *Pope Nicholas's Taxation*.

"Decima in Archid. Menev. Bona Prioris Penb. ad £19 6s. 3d., Ob decima. £1 18s. 8d." (*Monastic.* iv. 320.)

19 Edward I., the earl received from his royal nephew £7 19s. 1½d., half-yearly payment from the dower lands of Sybil, widow of Gerard Talbot of Geynesborough, and which on her death reverted to the earl and his heirs. There was also another half-yearly payment of £111 12s. 7½d. from lands granted by Henry III. (Iss. of Exch., 19 Edward I., 100.)

The death of the Maid of Norway, in October, 1291, 19 Edward I., by opening the succession to the Scottish crown and the earldom of Huntingdon, materially affected the fortunes of the Earls of Pembroke of the Hastings line, but De Valence, who was no longer young, does not appear to have taken any active part in the Scottish affairs.

21 Edward I., he had a grant to himself, his wife, and his own heirs, of the commote of Ostrelawe, in the Welsh marches, owing suit to the king's court at Caermarthen. 22 Edward I., the justiciary was ordered to settle the metes and bounds between Haverford and Pembroke. 24 Edward I., 1295-6, Hugh de Cressingham had custody during pleasure of the royal castle of Haverford, with the seal of the chancery there, the town of St. Clere, its hamlets; &c., as appurtenant to the said castle and seal, paying to the executors of Queen Alianor what was paid by Walter Pederton, the late custos. (A. R. O. i. 93.)

Late in 1294, when Edward, with his army, was about to visit Guyenne, he was detained by contrary winds at Portsmouth. The Welsh, thinking he had left the country, and excited by an attempt to levy a subsidy for a foreign war, rose in insurrection. The king at once marched into Wales, put down, though with difficulty, the insurrection, and secured the future peace of the country by the construction of Beaumaris Castle. (Powell, 308.) The Earl, with Roger Bigod, took part in this expedition. In a few months afterwards Cressingham was slain, and Pederton was directed to resume the custody of Haverford Castle, &c. (A. R. O. 101.)

About this time the earl, with the Earls of Gloucester and Lincoln, Prince Edward and Edmund Crouchback, are named in the "statutum de armis" as overseers of tournaments. (Arch. xvii. 297.) Also the earl and countess had suits pending with the executors of Isabel Mareschal, Joan's aunt, concerning certain rights and tolls at Milford and Haverford.

The earl died, or by some accounts was slain by the French, at Bayonne, 13th June, (May,) 1296, 24 Edward I. His corpse was transported to England, and rests in St. Edmund's Chapel, in the choir of Westminster Abbey.

In that year Walter de la Haye, escheator in Ireland, was directed to take charge of the earl's Irish lands, holden in capite. (A. R. O. i. 95.) Hertford Castle reverted to the crown.

Earl William had six children.

1. John, who died young. His heart was buried in the Blackfriars, London, and his body at Westminster. (Hasted, Kent, i., 25-27.)

2. William, styled "le Jeune," Lord of Montignac and Bellac, slain by the Welsh near Llandeilo, v. p., 1281. Anselm, who ignores John, makes Aymer the elder, and William the second son, and places his death in 1283, and says he was buried at Westminster. (Hist. Geneal. iii. 78.)

3. Aymer, who succeeded.

4. Yves, died young, buried at Westminster.

The daughters were

1. Margaret, died young. Her heart and body were buried as those of her brother John.

2. Ann or Agnes De Valence, Lady of Danfalize. She married first Maurice Fitzgerald. 21 Edward I., the Lady Agnes de Valencia visited the Prince of Wales at Mortlake, dining there on Pentecost Sunday, and leaving after breakfast on Monday. (Iss. of Exch., 21 Edward I., 109.) 27 Edward I., the king confirmed to M. Fitzgerald and Agnes certain castles, &c., in frankmarriage. (C. R. P. 60.) She married secondly Hugh de Baliol, who died before 21 Edward I., when Agnes de Valence stated that she held Killun, co. York, in dower of the inheritance of John de Baliol, King of Scotland. (Pl. de Q. W. 215.) Edward waived his claims over the widow in case she married again, which she did to Jean de Avesnes, Sire de Beaumont, who died 1283, and by whom she had John, ob. s. p., and B..... ob. s. p. 1299. (Anselm, ii. 729.) She probably died 3 Edward II., when the king took homage for her lands from her brother and heir Earl Aymer. (Abb. Rot. *Orig.* i. 169.)

Anselm gives two grown up daughters, each named Agnes, of whom he marries one to J. de Avennes and the other to Fitzgerald and Baliol, but the above version

seems best supported. (Ans. iii. 78.)

3. Isabel married John de Hastings, of Bergavenny, and was ancestress to the Earls of Pembroke of that name.

4. Joan de Valence, aged 30 (?), 19 Edward II., who married John Comyn of Badenoch.

5. Elizabeth de Valence, who probably died young.

As Isabel Hastings and Joan Comyn became eventually the co-heirs of the estates, the account of their issue will be introduced more appropriately after the death of Earl

Aymer:

Countess Joan survived her husband, and probably died 1 Edward II., when an inquisition returned her as seized of Goderich and Pembroke Castles, Castle-Martin, and the manors of Tenby, St. Florence, and Coytrath, and Earl Aymer had livery of her estates. She is also stated to have held in dower the manor of Pembroke, and £14 5s. 4d. rents in the county. It is remarkable that Pembroke Castle, the Caput Baronia, was included in the dower, no doubt on account of her being the heiress. She held also other lands, specified in the inquest taken at her husband's death. The manors of Morton and Whadden, co. Gloucester; Cherdisle and Policote, Bucks; Compton and its advowson, co. Dorset; Wridlington advowson, co. Suffolk; Sopworth, Colingburne, Inteburgh, Bereford, and Swindon, Wilts; and parts of Sutton and Brabourne, Kent. (Dugd. i., 776.)

The monument of Earl William at Westminster deserves special notice. It is an altar tomb, beneath a canopy, and bearing the recumbent effigy of the earl, the hands in prayer, and the feet upon a couchant lion. The figure is executed in wood, in mail armour, covered with copper gilt, with a large shield of Valence, and with arms and ornaments, in enamel, of exceeding richness, but now much injured. The surcoat has been powdered with enamelled shields of Valence. Upon the altar are

several coats of arms.

1 and 2, England, for his brother and nephew.

3, Valence, Earl Aymer, barry of 12 argent and azure, an orle of 12 mantlets, gules, impaling Clermont, gules, semeè of trefoils, 2 barbels addorsed or. The coats are dimidiated.

His mother's coat, "lozengy or and gules," has been lost. There is also a rhyming Latin epitaph of fourteen lines duly recorded by Gough. (Sep. Mon. i. 75.)

Indulgence for one hundred days was awarded to all who prayed at his tomb. (Gough, Sep. Mon. i. 75.)

The earl's seal, of which impressions are extant, bears in ancient terms, "Burule [d'azur et d'argent] ove une ourle de merlez [de goules], (Coll. Top. v. 322,) now rendered "Barry of 12, an orle of 8 martlets." Around the seal are vine branches, and the legend,

> "SIGILL . GUIL'I DE VALANCE." (To be continued.)

# ON SOME OLD FAMILIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF LAMPETER, CARDIGANSHIRE.

(Continued from p. 178.)

MARGARET married John Vaughan, Esq., of Llanelly, and became the mother of six sons and eight daughters. Vide monument in Llanelly Church, co. Caermarthen.

Anne married Nicholas Williams, Esq., of Rhydodin (Edwins-

ford), co. Caermarthen.

Lætitia married Philip Vaughan, Esq., of Trimsaran.

Elizabeth married Roger Vaughan, Esq., of Merthyr, co.

Penelope married Richard Herbert, Esq., of Court Henry, co. Caermarthen.

The descendants of this marriage are thus given by Theophilus. Jones, the historian of Brecknockshire (vol. ii. p. 456):— Richard Herbert—Penelope, d. of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, of Macsyfelin

John Herbert-Blizabeth, d. of John Bell, of Arnold's Hill Lettice Ánne in Pembrokeshire John Herbert Sarah, d. of Attorney Thos. Jones, Margaret-Dd. Lloyd, Bridget-David Davis, Caermar-Caermarthen of Cross Inn then - Dyer, of Bridget - Foley, of Penn-A son, died young Elizabeth= -

Aberglasney Of Elizabeth and her husband it is added, in a note, "their daughter & heiress married Wm. Philips, barrister, attorney

brokeshire

1 This lady was grandmother to Sir Nicholas Williams, of Edwinsford, M.P., and Lord-Lieutenant of Caermarthenshire, who was created a baronet in 1707. He married Mary Cocks, niece of John Lord Somers, Lord Chancellor of England, but died, issueless, 19th July, 1745, when his niece, Arabella Williams, wife of Sir James Hamlyn, of Clovelly Court, co. Devon, became, on the death of her sister, Mrs. Banks Hodgkinson, sole heiress. She was grandmother to the present Sir James Hamlyn Williams, Bart., of Edwinsford.

general on the Caermarthen circuit, who in her right possesses

Court Henry."

These Herberts of Court Henry were of the same family as those of Colbrook, Hafod, and Penkelly, in Brecknockshire, &c. A Richard Herbert, of Penkelly, was sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1543 and 1549, and a son or grandson of the same name in 1601.

Query, How was the above Dyer related to the author of

Grongar Hill?

Mary-Sir Halswell Tynte, Bart.

Having thus disposed of the daughters of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, we return to the sons.

Francis, the eldest son, succeeded his father at Millfield.

Marmaduke settled at Llawryllan, in the parish of Crugcadarn, co. Brecknock. From him are reckoned three generations in the male line.

We annex a table of his descendants;—

Marmaduke Lloyd=Catherine, d. of Richard Williams, of Park, Builth of Llawryllan Mary Lloyd Ducanna - Powell, of Travley, co. Radnor Francis Lloyd-Elizabeth, d. of Evan Owen, Marmaduke Lloyd= =Mary Jones, of a judge on the | rector of Beguildy; she Llawryllan, and Abermanid, co. Wales married, 2ndly, Richard Llundainfechan, Cardigan circuit Dawkins, of Brecon Cayo Anne Lloyd-John Bowen, query of Massilanwrthwl sole heiress Marmaduke Duke, Jane=1704, John Waters, Frances-1st, Thos. Williams, died s. p. of Brecon of Talley; 2nd, Wm. Williams, of Brecon, Barrister-at-Law.

Walter, the youngest son of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, married Catherine, adaughter of Thomas Vaughan, of Cathedine, but died without issue.

Pennant.

Their daughter married Owen Evans, of

We are unable to say when Sir Marmaduke died. But from a deed respecting the tithes of the parish of Lampeter, now in

existence, we find that he was alive in the year 1640.

Sir Marmaduke, as we have already intimated, was succeeded by his eldest son Francis, who during his father's lifetime had become Member of Parliament for the borough of Caermarthen. Francis Lloyd, like his father, was knighted. He was Comptroller of the Household to King Charles I., and he is said to have endured much in the cause of his royal master during the civil war. On account of his adherence to the cause of the king, he

<sup>2</sup> This lady was married five times. Her 1st husband was Morgan Prytherch, of Buallt; 2nd, David Prees, of Aberannell; 3rd, John Lloyd Rowland; 4th, Walter Lloyd; 5th, John, fourth son of Harry Williams, of Bailibrith.

withdrew from the House of Commons in 1643, and paid a fine in Goldsmiths' Hall. In a curious old book, entitled Memoirs of Charles I., by David Lloyd, with which some of our members may perhaps be acquainted, the amount of the fine is said to have been £1033. The same sum was paid by Sir Walter Lloyd, of Llanfair Clydogau, M.P. for Cardiganshire.

Sir Francis Lloyd married, first, Mary, daughter of John Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, of Golden Grove, co. Caermarthen; but by her had no issue. He wedded, secondly, Bridget, daughter

of Richard Leigh, Esq., of Caermarthen (mayor in 1666), by whom he had had, during his first wife's lifetime, two sons, Lucius and Charles. A daughter, Frances, was born after marriage.

In an old MS., entitled, "A true character of the deportment for these 18 years last past, of the principal gentry within the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, in South Wales," written about 1661, and published in the first volume of the Cambrian Register (1796), we find the following notice of Sir Francis Lloyd, of Millfield:—

"Sir Francis Lloyd, a lover of monarchy, which drew him from the Long Parliament about 1643, paid a fine at Goldsmiths' Hall, seems to love his private ease above the publique affayres of his country."

Sir Francis was, at the Restoration, made one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber to Charles II.; and I have no doubt that this descendant of Cadifor and the Lord Rhys was found admirably suited to fill his place in the court of the Merry Monarch.

Varied, in truth, were the posts occupied by the descendants of Cadifor, the hero of the Cardigan Redan, the Picton of the Lord Rhys, the founder of the escutcheon of three ladders; and their respective characters were from all appearances quite as different. In the Maesyfelin branch we have already had a Head of a house at Oxford, a grave and portly don, and, all honour to his name, a great benefactor of his college and his native county; in the second place, we have seen a dignified Canon of St.

3 The title of the book in full runs thus:-" Memoires of the Lives. Actions, Sufferings, and Deaths of those Noble, Reverend, and Excellent Personages, that suffered by death, sequestration, decimation or otherwise for the Protestant Religion, and the great principles thereof, Alliance to their Soveraigne in our late intestine Wars, from the year 1637 to the year 1666, with the Life & Martyrdom of King Charles I. By Da: Lloyd, A.M., sometime of Oriel Colledge in Oxon. London; MDCLXVIII.

It was this nobleman's son that afforded Jeremy Taylor a refuge at Golden Grove.

David's; thirdly, a country parson, Richard, a good-natured Sir Hugh in his time. The son of the canon, we have seen, was a learned judge, a man—ad unguem factus—to judge from his round periods and apt quotations in his letter to Vicar Prichard. The grandson of the canon now passes before us as a man of fashion, a courtier, as polished in his manners as he was loose in his morals.

We have already said that Sir Francis Lloyd had, during the lifetime of his wife, three children by Bridget Leigh, of Caermarthen, whom he, at the death of his first wife, married.

Lucius, the eldest, was made heir of the property, but he died in his father's lifetime, and Sir Francis was succeeded in his estates by his second son Charles. What became of the daughter, Frances, we know not, nor can we say in what year Sir Francis died.

Charles Lloyd was knighted by King William III., and created a baronet by Queen Anne on the 10th of April, 1708. His first wife (he married twice) was Jane, daughter and heir of Morgan Lloyd,<sup>5</sup> Esq., of Greengrove, by whom he had two daughters. The eldest, Jane, married, first, James Farmar; secondly, Wm. Glover, Esq., of Caermarthen. This lady sold her mother's estate to her father and his heirs. Elianor, the second daughter, died young. Sir Charles's first wife died July 20, 1689, at the age of thirty-two. There is a beautiful monument of white marble to her memory, and that of her youthful daughter, in the chancel of the parish church of Lampeter.

Sir Charles Lloyd married, secondly, Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Cornwallis,<sup>6</sup> Knt., of Abermarlais, co. Caermarthen, and had issue two sons and four daughters, Charles Cornwallis, heir, Lucius Christianus, Emma, Elizabeth, Frances, Anna Maria.

Sir Charles Lloyd was for some time M.P. for the Cardiganshire boroughs, in the reign of William III. He served the office of sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1689, and of Caermarthenshire in 1716. He died, December 28, 1723,7 at the age of sixtyone, and was gathered to his fathers, in the chancel of the parish church of Lampeter, on the 31st day of the same month. He was succeeded in his estate and title by Sir Charles Cornwallis

6 A member of the Cornwallis family founded the Grammar School

at Cardigan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Morgan Lloyd was the second son of John Lloyd, who was the third son of Morgan Lloyd, of Llanllyr, the eldest brother of Dr. Griffith Lloyd, and Treasurer Lloyd. Morgan Lloyd, of Greengrove, which had been given him by his eldest brother Thomas, was sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1676.

<sup>7</sup> It will be seen that there is slight discrepancy between the parish register and the monument to his memory.

Lloyd, Bart., his eldest son. Sir Charles Cornwallis married a Mrs. Jennings from Somersetshire. He died February 25, 17 at the age of twenty-four, and was buried at Lampeter on the 4th of There is no mention of Sir Charles Cornwallis Lloyd on the monumental stones in the church at Lampeter, but his father is called Sir Charles Lloyd, Senr. Sir Charles Cornwallis Lloyd was succeeded by his brother Sir Lucius Christianus Lloyd, who married Anne, daughter of Walter Lloyd, Esq., of Peterwell, Attorney-General for the counties of Cardigan, Caermarthen, and Brecknock. Sir Lucius died without issue on the 18th of January, 174, and was buried at Lampeter on the 20th of the same month. He was sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1746. We are glad to see the name of Sir Lucius, and that of his brother-in-law, John Lloyd, Esq., of Peterwell, among the subscribers to the edition of Drych y Prif Oesoedd, published in It appears that the family of Millfield were very friendly 1740. to the author, Mr. Theophilus Evans.

At the death of Sir Lucius Lloyd the Millfield estate came into the possession of the Peterwell family. Sir Lucius and John Lloyd, Esq., of Peterwell, his brother-in-law, in a "frolic-some humour" made wills in favour of each other, the survivor to take all. John Lloyd was not then married, and Lady Lloyd, Sir Lucius's wife, was dead, but both of them had sisters married, with children, and moreover Sir Lucius's mother was alive! Sir Lucius Lloyd did not long survive the making of this will. His sister Emma, we may here observe, was married to Dr. Toy, a physician of Caermarthen. The other sisters died young.

With the death of Sir Lucius Christianus Lloyd the glory of Maesyfelin fell to the dust. Lady Lloyd, Sir Lucius's mother, died in the mansion in the year 1753. A sister of Mr. John Lloyd, of Peterwell, resided there for some time. She (her name was Alice) was married to Jeremiah Lloyd, Esq., a grandson of Richard Lloyd, Esq., of Mabws, sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1690. The late Herbert Lloyd, Esq., the well-known attorney of Caermarthen, was a son of Jeremiah Lloyd, and was born at Millfield. This branch continues in Walter Lloyd, Esq., of Caermarthen, son of Mr. Herbert Lloyd.

Jeremiah Lloyd was churchwarden of Lampeter in 1757.

It is said that a great quantity of the materials of the house were carried away to enlarge and adorn the mansion at Peterwell. At present there is nothing to be seen at Maesyfelin. "Ipsæ periere ruinæ." We have here neither "bowing wall" nor "tottering fence" as a relic of better times. A few neat cottages

The Lloyds of Ffosybleiddiau and Mabws, like the Lloyds of Millfield, are descendants of Cadifor. They trace from Cadwgan Fawr the son of Rhys ap Rhydderch ap Cadifor.

for workmen are built near the spot where the old mansion stood. Some of the foundations of the house were dug up some five-and-twenty years ago by the farmer who occupied the land. A gentleman, who visited the place not long afterwards, brought away as a relic a carved stone. He describes it as "the lowest stone of a door jamb, chamfered on one edge, and finished off below with an oak leaf on the slope where the chamfer ended in the square angle at the bottom." This stone was conveyed to Dolau Cothi, (the residence of John Johnes, Esq., descended from Maesyfelin, as we have before said), where probably it may now be seen.

The mansion of Maesyfelin is described as an old place, built

in the pointed style.

We annex copies of the inscriptions on the family monuments in the parish church of Lampeter. The first is that on the monument alluded to above, in memory of the first wife of Sir Charles Lloyd:—

Underneath this
Monument lyes ye
Body of Jane ye first
Wife of Sr Cha. Lloyd of
Maes y Velin Knt
And also their daughter Elianor
Aged about 12 years.
She was an Affectionate, Good,
Virtuous, and discreet Wife, and
Descended of ye best Familye in ye
County. She dyed July ye
20th 1689 Aged 32 years.
This monument was Ere
cted by Sr Cha. Lloyd
Anno Dñi 1706.

The next records various members of the family:-

Near this place are Deposited the Remains
of Lady Lloyde Wife of Sir Lucius Christianus Lloyde
of Millfield Baronet. She was Eldest Daughter
of Walter Lloyde of Peterwell Esquire his
Majesties Attorney General for the Counties of
Carmarthen; Pembroke, and Cardigau.
For Piety, Charity, and every other Virtue
that could either adorn or endear
Singularly Eminent.
For the regular Discharge of all Duties
In her several Relations of Life

Admired by all

Happy
In the cheerfull evenness of her Temper

ARCH. CAMB., THIRD SERIES, VOL. VI.

The meekness of her Behaviour
The agreeableness of her Conversation.
She departed this life December 21st 1746
Aged 27.

Conjugis Bene Maerentis Lucius Christianus Lloyde Baronettus Monumentum hoc Maritus Moerens Posuit.

Also the Body of Sir Charles Lloyde Sen' of Millfield K' and Bar' Who departed this life yo 1st of Jan'y 1723 Aged 61 And Likewise the Remains of the above Mentioned Sir Lucius Christianus Lloyde of Millfield Aforesaid Bar' Who departed this life the 18th of Jan'y 1749 Aged 34.

It may not be improper to add here the tablet of a near kinsman of the family, the Rev. Erasmus Lewes:—

Underneath lyes yo Body of Y<sup>o</sup> Reverend Erasmus Lewes Esqr ye Sixth & youngest Son of John Lewes Sen Late of Gernos in ye County of Cardigan Esqr He was Vicar of Lampeter Pont Stephen and Rector of Bettws Bledrws in yo County Afores 50 years he died y 19th Day of February in the Year of our Lord 1744 in the 82nd Years of his age Mewn hedd im bedd yr af i Orphwys Nôl orphen fy ngyrfa Dywaed i'm dâd goruchaf Tyred yn nes i'm grwes was da Ffyddlon o'th galon ar ychydig a fuaest Maeth 'th wobr yn helaeth Meddianna dy Etifeddiaeth Yn y Nef Mewn hedd hyd feth

We have now gone through the generations of the Millfield family, and consigned the last of them to the tomb. There is one thing connected with the history of the place to which we have not yet alluded, but which cannot be overlooked. There can be but few in these parts who have not heard the pennill, attributed to Vicar Prichard, of Llandovery:—

"Melldith Duw fo ar Maesyfelin, Dan bob carreg, dan bob gwreiddyn; Am daflu blodau plwyf Llanddyfri Ar ei ben i Deifi foddi."

This has been thus Englished:-

"May God with heavy curses chase All Maesyfelin's villain race, Since they have drowned in Teifei's tide Llandovery's flower, Cymru's pride."

The story is—that Samuel Prichard, the son of Vicar Prichard, had formed an attachment with one of the daughters of the house of Maesyfelin, which was disliked by the lady's friends, and that upon his endeavouring to see her clandestinely, he was murdered by her father or her brother at Millfield; that his body was then thrown to the river Teifi, and his horse turned loose to create a belief that its rider had been accidentally drowned. This is the tradition in few words, and it behoves us to examine it in the light of what we know of the Vicar's son, and the family of Maesyfelin. I am very loth to believe that a man like Samuel Prichard was thus foully murdered in such a house as Maesyfelin. The story, of course, is not particular in informing us who the lady was to whom Samuel Prichard was paying his attentions, -whether she was a daughter of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, or of Sir Francis Lloyd. Now we learn, that Samuel Prichard was brought up at Oxford, where he was a student in the year 1623, as appears from a letter written by him to his father, which is still extant in MS.9 It appears too that Samuel Prichard married the daughter of one Harding, of Oxford, probably during his residence at the University. It will, however, be remembered that the date of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd's letter to the Vicar, which we have copied into our pages, was 1626. In this Sir Marmaduke speaks of the Vicar's hopeful son, and of himself as a younge Judge. From this we infer that Sir Marmaduke Lloyd was not a great many years older than Samuel Prichard, and that it was not very likely that the latter would have anything to do in the way of love with Sir Marmaduke's daughters. But granting that the Vicar's son may have set his affections on one of Sir Marmaduke's daughters, we are again met by another difficulty. these ladies were married honourably into some of the best families of South Wales. We are not in a position to find out the date of these marriages; but we cannot believe it at all probable that the one with whom the Vicar's son may have had anything to do, and on whose account, and in whose father's house, he had met his death in the manner alleged, would have afterwards The thing would have been married into an honourable family. more than enough, even at that period, to have blighted the prospects of all the family. In this dilemma it has been supposed that the object of the visits of the Vicar's son to Maesyfelin was Bridget Leigh, the concubine, and afterwards the wife, of Sir

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See the Life of the Vicar, prefixed to Cannyll y Cymry.

Francis Lloyd. There is nothing like evidence to show that Bridget Leigh lived at this time at Millfield, and if this were so, is it at all probable that Sir Francis Lloyd, loose and unscrupulous as he may have been, would have married a woman proved to have had an adulterous intimacy with another man, and moreover made the children, whom they had had before marriage, his heirs?

But it has been conjectured, I believe, that the object of Samuel Prichard's affections was Frances, the daughter of Sir Francis Lloyd, and sister of Sir Charles Lloyd. It happens, however, that the poor Vicar's son was dead before this lady was born. Sir Charles was born in 1662. The Vicar died in 1644, and his son is known to have been dead some time before this.

Again, is it probable that Vicar Prichard would have rested without bringing the murderers of his son to a trial at least? But we have no account of any trial, neither is there any allusion

to the matter in any of the Vicar's published writings.

What are we to say then? Here we have a tradition of a certain dark deed done in a certain house, but in examining the accredited records of the family we find that it will not bear the test of the ordinary rules of evidence. I will venture a conjecture: Samuel Prichard may have been on terms of intimacy with Sir Francis Lloyd, and in the habit of visiting Millfield. In returning home he may have perished by drowning in one of the rivers between Maesyfelin and Llandovery, and his father may have uttered something like the pennill, in which the tradition is conveyed. The enemies of the house of Maesyfelin (and in the time of the Civil War the feelings between families of different parties were very bitter,) may have thrown out suspicions that the Vicar's son did not meet his death by fair means, and thus the story of murder may have been patched up.

It is much to be lamented that a stigma like this should be attached to a family which has produced so many honoured names, if it be undeserved; and I trust the pains that I have bestowed upon examining the evidence have not been quite in vain.

WM. EDMUNDS.

Lampeter.

### (To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Theophilus Jones, the historian of Brecknockshire, says, incidentally, that the Vicar's son was drowned in crossing the river Towy. I do not lay much stress on this, but it is very likely that Mr. Jones might have heard much of the Lloyds of Millfield from his grandfather, the Rev. Theophilus Evans. The story of the murder may have obtained greater currency from the *Life of Trom Shon Catti*, by Mr. Ll. Prichard, where it is mentioned with a good deal of rhyme.

## CATALOGUE OF SEALS CONNECTED WITH WALES, IN THE MUSEUMS OF SWANSEA, CAERNARVON, AND LUDLOW.

### By R. READY, Sigillarist.

Seals marked thus (\*) are from the Chapter House, Westminster; those with a (†) are from Glamorgan Deeds, in possession of G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A., Swansea.

- 1. Edward Prince of Wales
- 2. Counter Seal
- 3. Edward the Black Prince
- 4. Counter Seal
- 5. Edward the Black Prince
- Counter Seal
- 7. Edward the Black Prince
- 8. Counter Seal
- 9. Edward the Black Prince
- 10. Edward the Black Prince
- 11. Edward the Black Prince
- 12. Edward the Black Prince 18. Edward the Black Prince
- 14. Edward the Black Prince
- 15. Edward the Black Prince16. Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V.
- 17. Edward Prince of Wales, Winchester College Deeds, 8 E. IV.
- Arthur Prince of Wales, Shrews-bury Deeds, temp. H. VII.
- 19. Counter Seal
- 20. Albert Edward Prince of Wales
- 21. Abergavenny Chancery Seal, in possession of Mrs. Herbert
- 22. Counter Seal
- †23. Cardiff Chancery Seal
- †24. Counter Seal, 1468
- 25. Cardigan, Caermarthen, and Seal, Glamorgan Chancery C. I.
- 26. Counter Seal
- 27. Cardigan, Caermarthen, and Seal, Glamorgan Chancery C. IL.
- 28. Counter Seal
- 29. Caermarthen, Chancellor of, E. VI.
- 30. Counter Seal
- †31. Caermarthen, Chancellor of, Elizabeth
- †32. Counter Seal
- †38. Glamorgan Chancery Seal, 18 H. VIII.
- †84. Counter Seal

- 35. Monmouth Chancery Seal, temp. E. VI., who is here represented as Duke of Lancaster. He has the label on the shield, but is without the lion crest, Monmouth Castle, &c., having been part of the Duchy. The Matrix is of brass, and was fished up out of the river Wye, and is now in the possession of Thomas Wakeman, Esq., the
- Graig, Monmouth 36. Counter Seal is from the fragments of two red wax seals, in possession of Mrs. Herbert
- 37. Cocket Seal for Wales
- 38. Marches Seal, C. II.
- †39. Avan, William, alias de Avon de Lantwit
- 40. Basset, Thomas de Landowe
- †41. Baudervyn, Margaret de, 13 R. IL
- \*42. Belecampio, John Lord of Hauke, 1301
- †43. Berkeroule, Lawrence, 14 R. II.
- †44. Elizabeth his wife, de East Orchard
- †45. Bidder, Robert
- \*46. Bigod, Roger Earl of Norfolk, and Lord Marshal of England, 1301
- 47. Bleyden, Ithel ap, British Mu-
- 48. Bohun, Humphrey de, Hatfield Regis Deeds, 1257
- 49. Counter Seal
- \*50. Bohun, Humphrey de, 1301, from the Chapter House, Westminster
- \*51. Counter Seal
  - 52. Bohun, Joan de, 1307
  - 53. Bohun, John de, 1327
- 54. Bohun, Oliver de, 1384
- 55. Bohun, Humphrey de, 1342
- 56. Bohun, Humphrey de

57. Bohun, Johanne de, New College 16 R. II.

\*58. Braose, William de, 1301

\*59. Counter Seal

60. Burgh, Hubert de, Chamberlain to King Henry III., in possession of G. G. George, Esq.

61. Counter Seal

62. Burgh, Hubert de, Justicio of England, in possession of G. G. George, Esq., H. III.

63. Counter Seal

64. Burgh, John de, 1442.

William, Lord of \*65. Cantilupe, Raventhorpe, 1301.

66. Clare, Richard de, Rev. J. M. Traherne, M.A., F.S.A., 1150

67. Clare, Gilbert de, New Coll. Oxon, 1220

68. Counter Seal

69. Clare, Gilbert de, Joan wife of, 1230

70. Clare, Richard de, 1240

71. Counter Seal

72. Clare, Gilbert de, Record Office, 19 E. I.

73. Counter Seal

74. Clare, Elizabeth, Lady of †75. Cranleigh, John, 18 K. II.

†76. Dennys, Gilbert, 9 H. V.

77. Ebroiencis, Ludovicus Comes de, 1303, from a deed in possession of Dr. Nichol, of Swansea, a deed of affiance between Edward Prince of Wales, son of Edward I. of England, and Madame Isabel, daughter of Phillip I. of France, dated Paris, 20th May, A.D. 1303

78. Counter Seal

79. and 80. Seal and Counter Seal from the above deed, Nos. 77-8 81. Eleanor, first wife of E. I., Mer-

ton Coll. Oxon

82. Counter Seal

83. Fitz-Alan, Richard, Shrewsbury Deeds, 1318

84. Fitz-Alan, Henry, 1543, in possession of W. W. E. Wynne,

Esq.
\*85. Fitz-Reginald, John, Lord of Blakenny, 1301

\*86. Fitz-Warine, Fulke, Lord of Whittington, 1301 †87. Francis, John, 1150

88. Gadarn, Hawys, daughter and heiress of Owen ap Gruffith, 1301, silver Matrix found at Oswestry 1852; in possession of \_ Penson, Esq., Chester

†89. Gay, Capellanus John, 1347

90. Glendower, Owen

91. Counter Seal

92. Glendower, Owen, Private Seal of \*93. Grey, Reginald de, Lord of Ruthyn, 1301

†94. Gamage, William de Coyty, 1411

\*95. Hastings, John, Lord of Bergavenny, 1301

\*96. Counter Seal

†97. Hugh, Thomas, Rector of Icolston, 43, E. III.

†98. Hyei, Thomas, 30 E. III.

99. Isabella, First Queen of King John, Rev. J. M. Traherne, M.A.

100. Isabella, second Queen of King John

101. Lancaster, Edmund de, Lord of Monmouth, in possession of G. G. George, Esq., 53 H.

102. Lancaster, Edmund de, Lord of Monmouth, 1276, in possession of G. G. George, Esq., Monmouth

103. Lancaster, Edmund de, Lord of Monmouth, in possession of G. G. George, Esq., of Monmouth

104. Lancaster, John of Gaunt, Duke of, 40 E. III., Trin. Hall, Camb.

105. Lancaster, John of Gaunt, Duke of, 1362

106. Lancaster, Henry, Duke of, Trin. Hall, Camb., 43 E. III.

107. Lancaster, Henry, Duke of,

Trin. Hall, Camb., 14 R. II. 108. Maelor, founder of Vale Crucis Abbey, in possession of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., 1220
109. Maelor, founder of Vale Crucis,

Abbey, in possession of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq. 110. Mansel, Sir Edward, Rev. J.

M. Traherne, M.A., F.S.A.

†111. Mansel, Sir Thomas, knight. 1612

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†112. Mansel, Sir Thomas, temp. Anne \*113. Marshall, William, Lord of

Hengham, 1301

\*114. Mohun, John de, Lord of Dunsterre, 1301

\*115. Mont, Hermer Ralph, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, 1301

\*116. Counter Seal

\*117. Montalt, Robert de, Lord of Hawarden, 1301

118. Mortimer, Roger, 1289 \*119. Mortimer, Edmund, Lord of Wigmore, 1301 \*120. Mortimer, Roger de, Lord of

Penllyn, 1301 121. Mortimer, Edward, Winches-

ter College Deeds, 2 E. III. 122. Mortimer, Edward, 1372, Chap-

ter House, Westminster

123. Owen, John, Admiral of North Wales

†124. Pembroke, Henry, Earl of, 16 Elizabeth

†125. Counter Seal

126. Penrice, Sir John, 1394, Rev. J. M. Traherne, M.A., F.S.A.

\*127. Plantagenet, Henry de Lancaster, Lord of Monmouth, 1301

\*128. Plantagenet, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, 1301

129. Counter Seal

130. Pembroke, Mary de St. Paul, Countess of, Deed in Pemb. Coll., Cam., 1343

131. Paul, Mary de St., Private Seal of Pembroke College Deeds

† 132. Pauncefort, Imboldus de Crickhowell, 48 E. III.

\*133. Payne, Fitz-Robert, Lord of Lammer, 1301

†134. Rees ap Thomas, 9 H. VII.

135. Spencer, Elizabeth de la, wife of Edward, Lord of Glamorgan, New Coll. Oxon, 11 R. II.

†136. Stafford, Edmund, Lord, 1301 †137. Stanvil, Johannes de, 1280

†138. Stradling, Sir John, 8 H. IV.

†139. Stradling, Sir Edward, 31 H. VI.

140. Tankerville, Edmund, 1447

†141. Thomas, William, Armiger \*142. Tony, Robert de, Lord of Castro-Matill, 1301

† 148. Turberville, Gilbert

144. Valence, William de, 1250

\*145. Valence, Aymer de, Lord of Montiniaco, 1301

\*146. Verdon, Theobald de Webbele, 1301

\*147. Counter Seal

148.

Wynne Family, Seals of 149.

150.

151. Castle-Morlais, Matrix found at, in possession of G. T. Clark, Esq.

152. Llantwit, Matrix found at, Rev. J. M. Traherne

†153. Detached Seal

154. St. Asaph, Chapter Seal

155. St. Asaph, Anian, Bishop of, Architectural Society's Museum, Oxon, 1268

156. St. Asaph, Signet of John, Bishop of, New Coll. Oxon,

157. St. Asaph, William, Bishop of, 1594

158. St. Asaph, William, Bishop of, 1603

159. St. Asaph, Thomas, Bishop of, 1859

160. St. Asaph, Chancellor of 161. St. Asaph, Chancellor of

162. St. Asaph, Probate Court

163. Bangor, Chapter Seal

164. Bangor, Lewis, Bishop of, 1405 165. Bangor, Christopher, Bishop of, 1850

166. Bangor, Christopher, Bishop of 167. Bangor, Grammar School

168. Bangor, Grammar School

169. Bangor, Chancellor of

170. Bangor, Chancellor of 171. Bangor, Chancellor of

172. St. David's, Henry, Bishop of,

1400 173. St. David's, William, Bishop of,

1536 174. St. David's, Robert, Bishop of, 1549

175. St. David's, Adam, Bishop of, 1715

176. St. David's, Official Seal for

177. St. David's, Vicars General

178. Ewenny, Prior of 179. Llandaff, Chapter Seal

180. Counter Seal, in possession of Thomas Wakeman, Esq.

181. Llandaff Chapter Seal	227. Loughor Town Seal
182. Llandaff, Nicholas, Bishop of,	228. Loughor Town Seal
1513	229. Monmouth Town Seal
183. Llandaff, William, Bishop of	230. Montgomery Town Seal, 1293
in possession of Thos. Wake-	231. Neath Town Seal
man, Esq., 1219	232. Neath Town Seal
184. Counter Seal	233. Neath Port Seal, 1515
185. Llandaff, Henry, Bishop of,	234. Neath Port Seal
1193	235. Neath, Abbot of, Rev. H. H.
186. Llandaff, John, Bishop of, 1896	Knight, Neath
187. Llandaff, Thomas, Bishop of,	236. Neath Abbey, Rev. H. H.
Matrix in British Museum,	Knight, Neath
1398	237. Newhaven Harbour
188. Lantarnam Abbey	238. Rhuddlan Town Seal, in pos-
189. Margam, Abbey	session of W. Hughes, Esq.,
190. Margam, Conan, Abbot of	Rhyl
191. Merioneth, Archdeacon of	239. Southberry Port Seal
192. Talley Abbey	†240. Swansea Town Seal
193. Tintern Abbey	241. Swansea Town Seal
194. Counter Seal	242. Swansea Town Seal
195. Tintern Abbey	243. Swansea Town Seal
†196. Unknown Conventual Seal	244. Swansea Town Seal
197. Aberavon Town Seal	245. Swansea Town Seal
198. Aberavon Town Seal	246. Swansea Town Seal
199. Impressions from the Mace	247. Swansea Town Seal
200. f of Aberavon	248. Swansea Town Seal
201. Brecon Town Seal	249. Swansea Town Seal
202. Beaumaris Town Seal	250. Swansea, Town Clerk
203. Caerleon, Mayor of	251. Swansea, Port of
204. Caermarthen Staple, British	252. Swansea, Port of
Museum, E. I.	253. Swansea Harbour
205. Counter Seal	254. Swansea Dock
206. Caermarthen, New Customs for,	†255. Swansea, St. David's Hospital
British Museum, E. I.	†256. Swansea, Hugo Gore, D.D.,
207. Caermarthen Town Seal	Bishop of Waterford, and
208. Caermarthen Town Seal	founder of the Free Grammar
209. Caermarthen Town Seal	School
210. Cardiff Town Seal	257. Tenby Town Seal
211. Cardiff, Port of	258. Counter Seal
212. Cardiff, Brotherhood of the	259. Tenby, Mayor of
Holy Trinity 213. Caernarvon Town Seal	260. Welshpool Town Seal
	261. Llanvair Grange, Matrix found
214. Caernaryon Town Seal	262. Caerleon, Matrix found at
215. Caernaryon, Mayor of	263. Montacute, William, 11 R. II.
216. Conway Town Seal	264. Pole, William de la
217. Conway Town Seal 218. Cowbridge Town Seal	265. Valence, Aymer de, 17 E. II.
219. Flint Town Seal	266. Counter Seal, from a deed in
220. Harlech Town Seal	possession of John Fenton,
221. Haverfordwest Town Seal	Esq.
222. Counter Seal	267. Caermarthen Town Seal
223. Kenfig Town Seal, circa 1200	268. Cardigan Town Seal
224. Kenfig Town Seal	269. Counter Seal
225. Kenfig Town Seal	270. Mayor of Cardigan
226. Kidwelly Town Seal	may or or our mem

#### ON THE MILITARY ARCHITECTURE OF WALES.

THE military architecture of ancient Wales rests, with some other Cambrian glories, for its evidences, chiefly upon the tales recorded in the *Mabinogion*, and the buildings seen occasionally, by uncritical eyes, engulphed in the crystal depths of Llyn Safadddu. We are told indeed

But these intentions were frustrated by the abstraction of the great necromancer and engineer, though his preparations are reputed still to be going forward beneath his hill by Caermarthen.

In far later days, and upon the far less poetical authority of Domesday Book, we learn that Hereford was a walled town in the days of the Confessor; but with this border exception, Wales, before the invasions of the Normans, does not appear to have presented any tangible examples of military architecture, unless indeed the remains of the Roman stations may be regarded as such. The Welsh, previous to the twelfth century, held their country against the Saxons, as they had for a time held it against the Romans, by the advantage of ground; but although they knew how to strengthen a natural position by a bank of earth and a corresponding ditch, and in some cases by a wall of rude dry masonry, these defences, of which many remain, do not rise in execution to architectural structures, or in scientific arrangement to works of They are the means by which mountain castrametation. tribes have ever defended their country, and by the aid of which they have often beat off an enemy equal to themselves in courage, and far superior in numbers, discipline, and the appliances of war.

These intrenchments still crown many a hill top and point of vantage throughout the Principality. They are, as might be expected, more frequent and of larger area

on the English frontier, but they are also found along the sea coast, and in the interior of the country, and were, no doubt, in many cases constructed and employed during the fierce intestine wars which were continually carried on among the Welsh tribes, and to which invaders have ever owed much of their success.

These earthworks, however, exhibit internal evidence that they are due neither to one age nor one people, a conclusion corroborated from other sources. From these we should expect to find defences erected by the earlier Celts against succeeding immigrants, by the Celts generally against the Romans, by the Romans during their invasion and tenure of the country, by the Celts, after the departure of the Romans, against the Saxons, Danes, and piratical invaders, by these invaders to cover their own landings and embarkations, and a few works perhaps, of a later date, may be attributed to the sharp contests between the Normans and the Welsh.

It is probable that a careful examination of these earthworks, and of the sepulchral mounds often connected with them, would throw much light upon their age, and upon the people to whom they are due. It is already known that the British works may be distinguished, generally, by their irregular figure, adapted to the circumstances of the ground, by their position on the summits of hills, so as to guard against surprise, and give a distant view of the enemy, and by the absence of such roads as would allow wheel carriages to reach their interior. These camps are usually contained within banks of earth or loose stone, though sometimes they are encompassed by rude thick walls, without mortar, and containing in their substance hollow cells (cyttiau) or hovels for the Such are to be seen at Carn Goch, near Llandovery, upon Penmaen-mawr, at Tre-yr-Caeri on the Eifl in Caernarvon, and in some other places in North Wales.

No doubt in this, as in so many other questions of Celtic antiquities, much information would be gained by an examination into the early camps and earthworks of

Ireland.

Interspersed with the British earthworks are several of a different class, placed either on the plain, or on high table-land, or near water, regular and usually rectangular in figure, connected with great roads, and presenting to the critical eye the well-known indications of Roman military skill. As, however, the remains of the Roman occupation of Wales will occupy a distinct section of this volume, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject further here.

The military earthworks of Wales and its borders up to the Severn and the Dee, including those of every age, are very irregularly disposed. Altogether there are of them about 609, of which Pembroke contains 112, Cardigan 79, Montgomery 55, Caernarvon 43, Monmouth 48, and Glamorgan 40. Some of the finest and most perfect are to be found in Herefordshire and Shropshire, and of these some have been attributed to the Welsh during their struggles under Caradoc (Caractacus) against

the Romans under Ostorius Scapula.

Taking the general distribution of the camps from the north downwards, there are but few in the body of Anglesey, but they lie more closely along the neighbourhood of the Menai Strait, corresponding to others upon the opposite shore of Arvon. There are several upon the headland of Caernarvon, fringing the sea-coast, some about the mouth of the Conwy river, and many, and of great strength, upon the high land between the Vale of Clwyd and the estuary of the Dee. Merioneth, though extending across from the Severn to the bay of Cardigan, contains but few camps, and those chiefly on the upper Dee between Corwen and Bala, about Towyn, and along the shore to the marshes of the Dovey. In parts of Montgomery they lie thickly posted, especially upon the Vyrnwy and the Upper Severn. The camps of Radnor are chiefly upon the English border, about Knighton, and in the valley of the Ithon. Cardigan are posted in two parallel lines, one at the foot of the hills from Yspytty-Ystwith, by Tregaron and Lampeter, towards Newcastle-Emlyn, the other along the shores of the bay about Aberystwyth, and very thickly from Aberaeron to Strumble Head.

Pembroke is dotted all over with camps and other earthworks, appearing with especial frequency upon the seaward flanks of the Preseleu range, and along the deep indentations of the coast from Strumble and St. David's Heads to St. Bride's Bay and Milford Haven.

The southern counties of Caermarthen and Glamorgan show, in proportion to their areas, but few camps, and scarcely any along the shore, nor are there many in Brecknock or Monmouth.

It is not improbable that most of the larger border camps were the work, not of the Welsh, but of invaders, who, marching in large bodies, required considerable space, and commanded abundance of labour. They are probably due to the same race of men who constructed that long range of magnificent earthworks which crown the heights and spurs of the Cotteswold, from the Stratford Avon to that of Bath and Bristol, looking proudly over the fertile vale of the Severn, and menacing it with conquest and subjection.

One of the first acts of the Conqueror, on obtaining possession of England, was to provide for the defence of the Welsh border by the creation of Marcher-Lordships and by a chain of castles extending from Gloucester upon the Severn to Chester upon the Dee.

No sooner, however, were the Lords of the Marches established in their new fiefs than they began to contemplate the conquest of Wales, and to regard their castles as bases of military operations. Sometimes their attacks were mere border raids, led by petty barons, but more frequently they were of a general character, and supported by the principal Lords Marchers, and often by the sovereign in person, when they were conducted with due regard to system.

The plan was to penetrate by the valleys and more open country, and at certain points to erect castles, strong enough to resist an ordinary attack, and often capacious enough to contain men and stores sufficient to reinforce troops in the field, or to receive them when worsted.

Gloucester and Chester, from a remote period places of great frontier importance, and Shrewsbury, a site of great natural security, were fortified, the first by the Conqueror himself, and the other two by two of his most powerful barons and kinsmen, Hugh, sirnamed the Wolf, Count Palatine of Chester, and Roger, Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, and head of the great house of Mont-To clear the ground for Gloucester Castle, it is gomery. recorded in *Domesday* that sixteen houses were removed. Shrewsbury is also one of the forty-nine castles mentioned in that record, which describes Chester as a walled town. These greater fortresses were connected by the inferior, but still important, strongholds of Richard's-Castle, Tenbury, Ludlow, Stoke-Castle, Middle-Castle, and, a little later, of Holt, in Bromfield.

Subordinate to, but in advance of, the main line, were the castles of Chepstow or Striguil mentioned in Domesday, Weobly, Monmouth, Hereford, Croft, Wigmore with its dependencies of Lingen, Brampton-Bryan, Hopton, and New Radnor, the old Fitz-Alan seat of Colunwy or Clun, Bishops'-Castle, the More, Knockyn, built by the Lords Strange, Oswestry, Chirk, Caergwrle, Hawarden, Euloe, the very strong castle of Mold the work of Eustace de St. Omer, Halkin and Flint, all or nearly all of Norman foundation, and erected within half a century of the conquest.

The reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. were exceedingly productive of castles. Matthew Paris speaks of 1115 "castella adulterina," or small unlicensed castles, as having been pulled down early in the twelfth century, no doubt in consequence of a treaty between Stephen and Henry II. It is probable that during those reigns many such castellets were built on the Welsh border, though it is scarcely probable that they were in the number referred to, or that any sovereign would agree to their destruction in the immediate presence of a very

watchful enemy. Most of the border castles were, however, strong, of large size, in the hands of great nobles, and placed in country more or less open, and therefore favourable to the employment of cavalry, and to disciplined movements. The Lords Marchers, the feudal suzerains of these castles, and often their actual owners, were a very powerful body. They had profited by the insecure character of their territory to acquire almost regal privileges. The Earl of Shrewsbury, and Arnulph his son, were in rebellion against Henry I. as early as 1100; and, on the whole, the arms of the Marchers were employed nearly as often against their sovereign as against the Welsh; nor was their power broken down until the reign of Edward I.

Contemporary with many of these march fortresses, or closely following upon them, were a number of castles still further advanced into the country, and far within the contested soil.

Such were the castles, the footsteps of the Norman, extending along a line of 130 miles, from Chepstow, the palace fortress of the De Clares, by Caldecot, Caerleon, a Domesday castle on a Roman foundation, Newport, Cardiff, Llantrissant, Ogmore, Newcastle, Coyty, Neath, Swansea, Llwchwr, Kidwelly, the work of De Londres, Llanstephan, Caermarthen, Llaugharne, and Narberth, to Pembroke and Haverford, commanding the strong positions, the mouths and fords of the rivers, and the inlets of the sea, and thus securing the admission of supplies by that element, and an undisturbed passage from Bristol and Gloucester towards Ireland.

Springing out from this grand line of south-western communication were castles, again subordinate, along the lines of the principal valleys, by which the main line might otherwise have been, as indeed it occasionally was, outflanked from the hills. Thus upon Chepstow-on-the-Wye rested St. Briavel's commanding the Forest of Dean, Trelech, Monmouth at the confluence of the Monnow, the De Clare Castle of Goderich with its square Norman keep, Ruardean, Penyard, Wilton, Hereford, Castleton,

Clifford's Castle, Ewyas mentioned in Domesday, Hay,

Bronllys, Builth and Rhayader.

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Between the Wye and the Usk, within a fertile and pleasant country, stood the detached stronghold of Pembridge, the three castles of Wentwood Skenfrith, Whitecastle and Oldcastle; Grosmont, Kilpeck and Ewyas-Harold, securing the communication between Chepstow, Monmouth and Hereford; Dingeston, Raglan a later castle but possibly on an earlier site; and nearer to the sea, and for the defence of individual properties, Dinham, Llanvair, Llanvaches, Pencoed, Penhow the lowly cradle of the house of Seymour, and Bishopston.

Above Newport the Usk was guarded by the Norman additions to Caerleon, by Llangibby, Usk, Abergavenny, Crickhowell, Tretower, Bwlch-y-Dinas, Blaenllyfni, Penkelly and Brecknock with its outlying castellets at Blaen-Camlais, Castell-ddu by Senny-bridge, Trecastle, and

Castell-Madoc on the Honddu.

These castles on the Upper Wye and Upper Usk and their tributaries, were founded for the most part under the auspices of Bernard Newmarch, who, about 1096, invaded these districts, slew Rhys ap Twdwr and Bleddyn ap Maenarch their native guardians, built Brecknock Castle from the spoils of the Roman Bannium, and parcelled out his new possessions among fifteen great feudatories, who continued to pay service to his son-in-law, Milo, Earl of Hereford, and their successors the De Braoses and the Cantelupes.

On the Ebbw, a less important stream, were Greenfield and Rogerston Castles, near Tredegar; and on the Rhymny, though not until late in the thirteenth century,

the gigantic fortress of Caerphilly.

The valley of the Taff, after escaping from the mountains of Glamorgan, was guarded by the regular Norman fortress of Cardiff, and its outlying tower of Whitchurch, by the episcopal castle at Llandaff, and by the stronghold of Castell Coch, placed on an eminence in the gorge of the valley. Twenty miles higher up, amidst the sources of the Taff and the Neath, at the apex of the

triangle between those rivers, was the Edwardian castle of Morlais.

The vale of Glamorgan, that smiling and sunny tract between the Taff and the Neath, the mountains and the sea, where "the wines were celebrated, the wives were honoured and the walls were white," was guarded with a jealousy equal to its value, being studded with about twenty-four castles and castellets, besides its frontier fortresses of Cardiff, Llantrissant, and Neath.

Of these, twelve were the work of the twelve paladins, who, under the leadership of "Fitz-Hamon," won their lands by the sword in 1091, and, with their descendants, long held them by that honourable tenure under the Lords of Cardiff. These castles were, Sully, constructed by Sir Reginald of that name, Penmark, by Sir Gilbert de Umfravile, Fonmon, by Sir John St. John, East Orchard, by Sir Roger Berkerolles, St. George's, by Sir John le Fleming, Peterston, by Sir Peter le Sore, Talavan, by Richard Syward, St. Donat's, by Sir William Stradling, Llanblethian, by Sir Robert St. Quintin, Coyty, by Sir Payn de Turberville, Ogmore, by Sir William de Londres, and Neath, by Sir Richard de Granville. Besides these were other castles, of less honour, but equal antiquity. Such were Dinas Powis, founded, at least in its present form, by Sir Milo de Regny, Wrinston or Cwrt-y-Raleigh, by the Raleighs of Nettlecombe, Wenvoe, Barry, St. Fagan's, by Sir Peter le Vele, Cowbridge town, fortified by the Lords of Cardiff, or perhaps by St. Quintin, Llandough, Penlline by the Norrises, Dunraven by the Butlers, Ewenny a fortified monastery, Newcastle, Kenfig the property of the Lords of Cardiff, and Beauprè, which though long rebuilt, was until recently possessed by the male descendents of its ancient lords.

As the Neath valley did not open upon any very fertile tract, it was left by the Granvilles to be defended by their castle and walled town of Neath.

Swansea Castle, founded by Henry de Newburgh son of Roger de Bellomont, and Llwchwr Tower, were the gates of Gower, which included the castles of Oystermouth, Pennard, Penrice, and Oxwich, erected under the protection of De Bellomont and his successors, the

conqueror and lords of that peninsula.

The Towy, well worthy of defence, and regarded with longing and desperate affection by the excluded Welsh, belonged in great part to the De Clares and Marsschals, as lords under the crown of the Honours of Caermarthen and Cardigan. Its valley was guarded by the castle and walled town of Caermarthen, and higher up by the fortresses of Drysllwyn, Dynevor, and Carreg-Cennen, and still higher up by a tower at Llangattoc. Strong though these defences were, they, with Kidwelly, were not unfrequently taken by the Welsh, whose inroads sometimes amounted to a lengthened occupation of the country.

The Vale of Teivi, even more exposed and almost equally valuable with the Towy, and like it frequently reconquered, was bridled by Newcastle-Emlyn, Kilgerran, and Aberteivi or Cardigan, and adjacent to these by Nevern and Newport. Haverford and Pembroke, the two principal fortresses of the extreme west, were supported, the one by Picton, Walwyn's-Castle and Roche, and the other by Tenby with its castle and walled town, Stackpole, Manorbeer, Carew, Upton, Benton, and Castle

Martin.

All this western country was conquered by Earl Roger, who penetrated thither from Shrewsbury, and, placing his son Arnulph at Pembroke, settled the Martins and other Norman Barons, who came by sea, as his vassals. This conquest was confirmed by the De Clares and Mareschals, and the Flemish immigration of 1105; but it was continually retaken by the Welsh, though the persevering and brave Flemings contrived on the whole to retain their footing. The frequency of the castles and fortified buildings shows that the struggle was borne quite as much by the small proprietors as by the lords.

Besides these works of the laity were the walled Close of St. David's, and the episcopal residences of Lamphey and Llawhadden, whose extant gateway still attests the

magnificence of Antony Bec, pronounced "the maist prowd and maisterful Bushopp in the kingdom."

Besides all these military buildings, South Wales presents also a class of structures not unknown in England and upon her Scottish border, and intended to subserve a military with an ecclesiastical purpose. These are church towers of a well marked military type, intended for the protection of the English or Flemish peasants against any sudden and temporary inburst of the Welsh. Of these there are several in Monmouthshire, more in Glamorgan, chiefly in Gower, and very many in the Flemish part of Pembrokeshire. They have been described and discussed by Mr. Freeman, with that mixture of antiquarian knowledge and sound sense which characterizes his writings, and which is by no means too common on the western bank of the Severn.

Middle Wales was the peculiar care of the three Norman Earls of Shrewsbury of the house of Montgomery, who imposed upon a part of it the indignity of their name, and attacked the Welsh from their old royal seat of Pengwern, transformed into the Norman castle of Shrewsbury. There, protected by the circling arms of the Severn, Earl Roger built or rebuilt the castle, and founded an abbey, and thence he invaded Powis, leaving his successors to establish its castle, founded Montgomery town, called from his lieutenant Tre-Ffaldwin, and its castle, mentioned in Domesday; and, although he died in 1094, had found means to penetrate by Cardigan to Pembroke on the south, and on the north to found Ystrad-Meyric upon the Rhydol, and Aberystwyth Castle at the confluence of that stream with the Ystwyth and the sea. These conquests were confirmed and extended by his sons, Hugh Goch, the second, and Robert de Belesme, the last earl, the founder of Bridgenorth Castle, who died about 1102. After his death Gilbert Strongbow rebuilt the castles of Aberystwyth and Cardigan, and, for a time, completed the conquest of South Wales. The power of these great earls may be estimated by the fact that among their adjacent and inferior barons appear the

names of Hastings and Talbot, of Ralph Mortimer in

Elvel, and Hugh de Lacy in Ewyas.

North Wales, being more mountainous, and containing fewer fertile tracts than the south, was both more difficult to attack, and presented less to tempt cupidity. moreover, the strength of the Welsh people was gradually concentrated. North Wales was, however, invaded in 1096, by the combined forces of Earl Roger, and Hugh the Fat, Earl of Chester, who penetrated to Anglesey, and built the tower of Aber-Llienawc, near Menai, which, however, they failed to retain. The Earls of Chester obtained permanent possession of the March of Tegengel, the tract between the Conwy and the Dee, but with this important exception, but little progress was made during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The border castles of Chirk, Wrexham, Caergwrle, Hawarden, Holt, Flint, and Trefynnon or St. Winifred, formed a sufficient defensive line, and supported Dinas-Bran on the Dee, Ruthyn, Denbigh, and Rhuddlan a Domesday castle, in the Vale of Clwyd, and Gannoc or Diganwy, at the mouth of the Conwy, an old Welsh work destroyed by lightning it is said in 809, but rebuilt 1209 by the Earl of Chester, and around which Henry III. and his invading army encamped in 1245. It was not until late in the thirteenth century, when Edward Longshanks was firmly seated on his throne, that he was able to direct his undisturbed energies against the Prince of Snowdon, and, after three great and general insurrections, to reign paramount in Wales. The difficulties of the undertaking are sufficiently attested by the strong and stately castles of Conway, Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Harlech, and Criccaeth, with which that prudent monarch thought it necessary to secure his conquest.

The dates of the foundations of but few of the Welsh castles are precisely known, and those recorded in the chronicles are but seldom supported by the internal evidence of the existing buildings. In England, the occasions on which the chief tenants of the crown, usually the lords of the larger castles, came under the cogni-

zance of the sovereign, were so numerous, and so regularly recorded, either on a "quo warranto," a "licentia crenellare," a grant of livery, or an "Inquisitio post mortem," that it is seldom difficult to arrive at the date of foundation, and subsequent history, of a castle. In Wales, where the king's writ did not run, and where the records of the marcher chanceries have all, or nearly all, been destroyed, but little accurate knowledge can be recovered. Welsh castles were, no doubt, in most instances, originally built by the first invading Norman settlers; but they were so frequently taken and retaken, burned and rebuilt, by the conflicting parties, that even the architectural testimony of each building, which in the absence of records is often decisive, seldom shows more than the date of the latest reconstruction, usually not later than the reign of Edward II. Of some few castles, such as Caerphilly, Caerdiff, Hereford, in the south, and the Caernarvonshire castles in the north, the dates are well known, as well as the fact that they did not replace any earlier structures, or at least any of importance.

Many of the smaller, and some of the larger, castles seem to have been hastily built, and to have been a constant and heavy source of expense in repairs. Even the border castle of Bridgenorth appears to have been always under repair, and, as early as 1281, to have been internally in a ruinous state; and the copious and accurate researches of Mr. Hartshorne show how great were the current expenses of the fabrics of Caernarvon and

Conway.

The Welsh castles were not often seats of baronies, and were more frequently inhabited by a castellan, or constable, than by the lord. During the long and internally peaceful reign of Edward III., to whose foreign armies the Welsh largely contributed, the castles of the Principality ceased to be of importance, and many fell permanently into decay. Owen Glendower, early in the fifteenth century, has the credit of having destroyed many more; and a greater number still, ceasing, from the union of estates, to be family seats, were either pulled down for

the materials, or converted into farm-houses. Those in or near county towns were often used as prisons, and are so described in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and some, like Caermarthen and Swansea, are still so degraded. During the great rebellion, such as admitted of being employed as military posts, were occupied either for the king or the parliament, and suffered accordingly, and others were blown up lest they should be so occupied. Since that period, time, weather, and their employment as quarries of squared stone, have nearly completed their destruction; and it is only within the last few years that the public have learned to regard their ruins as objects of interest, and that the owners, urged by public feeling, have in some few cases expended some trifling sums to preserve them.

Appended to these remarks will be found a list, more or less imperfect, of 272 castles, or traces of castles, existing or referred to in records, scattered throughout the Principality, and along the Marches. Such observations as have been gleaned from county histories or antiquarian publications, and seemed at all trustworthy, have been added in a brief form. In the case of some of the larger buildings, a more expanded, but still brief, description will be found.

In this list it will be seen that Glamorgan, only the third county in area, and containing but few camps, is by much the most strongly fortified, containing about 49 fortified buildings, almost wholly in the southern part. Next comes Pembroke, eighth in area, but with 34 castles, and Monmouth and Hereford with 32 each. Cardigan has 22, and Brecknock the fourth, and Caermarthen the largest in area, but 18 each. The remaining counties seem to have contained but very few; Radnor 16, Flint 15, Montgomery 13, Caernarvon and Denbigh 7 each, and 3 in Anglesey.

The superior frequency of the Glamorgan castles was due partly to the fertility of the "Bro" country or vale in which nearly all of them stood, partly to the residence, more or less regular, of the Lords of Cardiff, and to the close connection they preserved with their chief tenants, and partly to the very dangerous proximity of the mountains. Pembroke was no doubt highly cultivated, and therefore strongly protected by its Flemish tenants, as well as by the great power and martial fame of its earls; and Monmouth and Hereford, rich and valuable districts, were the residence of several great barons. Cardigan was strongly fortified because exposed on the north and north-east to the unconquered inhabitants of Snowdon and Plinlimmon: Brecknock was important as including the Upper Usk; and Caermarthen as containing the meads of the Towy, and completing the communication

between Glamorgan and Pembroke.

The Welsh castles and fortified dwellings, though neither so peculiar nor so picturesque as those of Scotland. and very far inferior in historical associations, are not without their points of interest. Some, as Morlais, Llantrissant, Newport, Cardigan, Tenby, were built for military purposes only. Others, as Cardiff, Caerphilly, Kidwelly, Pembroke, and the larger northern castles, were no doubt intended mainly for the defence of the country; but they also contained full accommodations for the residence of the lord, and are peculiarly magnificent in their domestic arrangements. Most of the smaller castles were intended solely for the residence of the owner of the surrounding estate, and were only fortified because the state of the country required it. Had the country always been in a peaceable state, the great castles would not have been built at all, or one or two would have been built as palaces. The small castles would have been built, but in the form of simple residences. Many of the inferior castles include within their walls a larger space than seems suited to the owner's means, or the garrison he was likely to retain; this was no doubt intended to afford a temporary shelter to the tenantry and their flocks, upon any sudden appearance of the Welsh, and until they were driven back by the regular forces of the district.

Though most of the Welsh castles must have been originally of the Norman period, but few exhibit the usual Norman features of a quadrangular keep and earthen mound, works of a nature so durable that they commonly survive all changes. Such keeps are found at Chepstow, Goderich, Chester, and on a small scale at Ogmore; and there are mounds at Cardiff and Hereford. At Fonmon the existing building seems to be a late Norman keep included in a later shell, but divested of its exterior defences and outworks.

The greater number of the existing buildings are probably of the reign of Henry III., or early in that of Edward I. Some of the grander examples, such as Caerphilly, Kidwelly, Beaumaris, are regularly concentric, and quite equal to anything in England. Others, as Conway, Caernarvon, Caldecot, are a mere inclosure, divided into courts, and contained within curtain walls thickly studded with towers, and broken by regular gate-houses, and having the hall and other buildings disposed against the curtain along the sides of the principal court.

The smaller castles of this type, as Dinas Powis, Pennard in Gower, perhaps Whitecastle, and many others, seem to have been a simple inclosed court, with walls from 10 to 30 feet high, mural towers, and a gate-house, but with small permanent accommodation within. dwellings were chiefly structures of timber placed against the walls, and have in consequence long since disappeared.

When a castle, as Neath, Caernarvon, Newport, and Cardiff, was placed close to a town, it usually formed a part of the circuit of the walls. At Chepstow this does not appear to have been the case.

### EARLY BRETON ANTIQUITIES.

THE DEVIL'S HOOF ROCK.

THE range of the Black Mountain (Mene Du), which traverses a portion of Britanny, presents throughout its length certain elevated points, from which may be seen a long series of broken ridges. Although, however, these elevations are dignified with the name of mountains, they are in reality but modest hills, remarkable only for their steep ascent and rugged outlines. That of Toul Laëron (the Robber's Hole), in the commune of Sprezet, situated at the junction of the three departments of Finistère, Morhiban, and Cotes du Nord, one of the most elevated of these mamelons, is connected with the tradition that a Bishop of Quimper was once stopped by robbers near the place—a tradition that seems to have given rise to the name of the spot, the wild and desolate character of which is in keeping. There are no traces of cultivation to be discovered on the sides of the hill, now overgrown with briars and bushes, while the upper parts still retain the remains of that extensive forest which formerly covered the whole range of hills. summit of this hill a fine view is obtained of the wild bleak plains of Morhiban, and the smiling and wellwooded country around Carhaix.

But there are other considerations besides that of the picturesque which will attract the archæologist, who, on making his way through bush and gorse, will find, half concealed among the thicket, an enormous schistose rock, commanding the valley through which passes the Roman

road from Quimper to Carhaix.

In a kind of fissure, on the north-western face of this rock, is seen a sort of moulding, from four to five inches in diameter, and nearly seven feet high, composed of a series of incised crescents, the convex parts of which are uppermost, twenty seven in number, and not unlike the impression of a horse shoe. On the south face of the rock did exist some rude representations of the heavenly

bodies, concentric circles representing the sun, the moon being figured in the form of waving bands, arranged in a circle. Unfortunately, some few years ago, the whole surface of the rock, which is of a slaty character, peeled off, carrying with it these curious figures.

The country people give the following explanation of the figures that remain, and thus legitimately account for

its name, "Rocher du pied du Diable."

In the wild country that surrounds the Robber's Hole, a young man, named Jean, was one day searching for his horse, which, contrary to its usual custom, had not returned to the farm. After a long search, despairing of finding the animal, to his great surprise, he discovered it at the outskirt of a wood; and, in spite of the lateness of the hour, did not hesitate to enter the thicket. He soon, however, lost sight of the animal, and, in his eager search, lost also his way, and night came upon him before he could retrace his steps out of the wood.

In this perplexity his imagination recalled to him all the strange stories he had heard at the fireside of the farm, about the hideous dwarfs and mischievous fairies which frequented the spot, and whom he expected every moment to see issuing in troops from their hiding place, and whirl him round in their dances. But, instead of such terrible and hideous beings, to his great astonishment, he saw suddenly before him a White Lady, blooming with youth and beauty, who asked with the sweetest voice, and most

encouraging manner, what he was doing there.

Jean explained to the lady his loss and fruitless search, on which, with the most bewitching smile, she said, "Forget your horse; follow me; and if you will render me a service which is in your power, you will be the most fortunate man in the world." Jean readily assented, and she led him in silence across the wood until they came to this particular rock, at the foot of which the earth suddenly opened, and showed a beautiful staircase leading to a palace blazing with light and gold. The descent was soon accomplished, and Jean found himself surrounded with precious stones piled up like heaps of

corn in the granary after harvest, and pieces of gold more numerous than the flowers in spring. "All these treasures are yours," said the White Lady, "if you will give me a kiss, when I appear in a form to which I have been condemned for many ages, and which I must retain until some young man consents, by kissing me, to break the charm."

"I will deliver you," said Jean, "under whatever form you appear." The lady thanked him, and retired. the meantime the young man, as he feasted his eyes on the fascinating heaps of precious stones, and gold pieces, was already congratulating himself upon his good fortune, when his eye caught sight of a viper gliding slowly towards him, and which on reaching him began to twine round his legs, and creep up his body. He still remained motionless; but on the reptile coiling round his neck, and endeavoured to apply its cold, clammy lips to those of Jean, the young man felt his blood freezing in his heart, and, uttering a loud scream, he dashed the animal away from him. Viper, precious stones, gold pieces, palace, all vanished from his eyes, and he found himself sitting on the ground near the rock, close to which he had descended the staircase. While trying to recover his thoughts, to his surprize he saw his horse standing in front of him, and jumped up to catch it, when the beast, erecting its mane, and breathing flames of fire from its distended nostrils, bounded up the perpendicular side of the rock with a thundering clatter, leaving the marks of its shoes, which appeared to be on fire. This explanation is sufficient for the country people. I wish my readers could be as easily satisfied, for I have no other explanation to offer.

There can be no doubt, however, that these figures are the work of man; but whose hand traced them? or to what date are they to be assessed? What is their meaning? These questions I must leave to those who are better able to answer them, and satisfy myself with pointing out that the rude figures formerly existing on the other face of the rock must be intimately connected

with these curious crescents, a circumstance which may, if confirmed by other examples, lead to some rational explanation.

At a few paces from this rock is seen a small eminence, apparently a tumulus, but it is so surrounded with briars and other shrubs, that without a closer examination it is not easy to decide upon its character; but about sixty yards further on, and in the same line, is a rectangular inclosure, defended on the north and south by natural rock, and on the east and west by masses of stone heaped up by man. It is known by the name of Parc ar C'hallaoued (field of the Gauls). On removing a rock in the south-west angle, two stone celts were lately found, one composed of silex, pierced with a hole, as given in the accompanying illustration.



About three or four years ago, two gentlemen of Gourin, named Stenfort, cut into an adjoining tumulus, though not according to the rules usually observed in such operations. They made, however, the discovery of a kind of sarcophagus, about two yards long, and 14 inches broad, the sides of which were formed of small flat stones placed on the ground near each other. The cover was composed of similar stones, placed obliquely two

and two, and supporting each other at an obtuse angle, not very unlike the coved lid of a common stone coffin. This grave contained two femora only, in a tolerably perfect state, the other bones having crumbled into dust. No traces of weapons, ornaments, or vases were found, but several fragments of charcoal were found in the soil composing the tumulus. This sarcophagus was placed at the outer edge of the tumulus, so that one of its extremities had only a few inches of superincumbent soil. A considerable part of this tumulus still remains unexamined, and, if further researches were made, very probably other graves would be discovered.

Monuments of this class are by no means unfrequent in the neighbourhood of Toul Laëron. Besides those I have mentioned, the commune of Sprezet boasts of a tumulus and several dolmens; while in the adjoining commune of St. Hernin is a monument deserving special attention, being unique in Finistère, and probably in the whole of Britanny. It consists of four tumuli, about 12 feet high, situated on a lande, called Goarim ar Runiou, or Goarem ar Buchennou (La Garenne des Buttes), the tumuli being arranged in a semicircle, with a distance of

10 yards between each.

It is possible that a complete circle once existed, for the ground where the missing tumuli would have existed now forms a part of the cultivated land of a neighbouring farm. However, there is nothing left of them at present, owing to the general belief among the peasants, that they contain treasures. Each tumulus generally has its own proprietor, but one or two of these is the joint property of more than one person. About a year ago, in company with two friends, I met with great difficulty on the part of the owner, who demanded 600 francs for permission to explore, but who, however, finished by yielding to our promise of two francs and a bottle of wine, if they worked themselves at the digging. I found in the centre of this tumulus, a cist, or sarcophagus, lying northeast and south-west, similar to the one previously mentioned, both as to dimensions and construction.

whether the monument had been previously examined, or, as there were no signs of any previous disturbance, the weight of superincumbent earth had forced in the covering stone, the interior of the cist was nearly full of earth; nor could we find any bones, or ornaments, such as are frequently found in this kind of grave, but only a considerable quantity of charcoal fragments.

The peculiar arrangement of these four tumuli naturally reminds us of the stone circles common in Wales, parts of Scotland, &c., &c., but of which I do not know a single example in the whole of Britanny. However, I have little doubt but that these last are simply places of sepulture, as are those that I have described. It is, I regret, all I can state, (and that is simply my own impression,) for I have not yet had the good fortune of meeting with a spirit complaisant enough to whisper in my ear some of the wonderful things that took place in those mysterious sacred "enceintes."

The commune of Saint Gwazec, which also adjoins that of Sprezet, is still more rich in Celtic monuments. In a field called Parc a'r Roch there is a covered alley more than 60 feet long.

In the landes and woods, of the names of which I am ignorant, are three alignments, remarkable for the dimensions of the stones, to one of which is attached a tumulus, which has been excavated by the peasants, who have laid bare two distinct chambers.

Nor must I omit to mention a fortified enceinte, called Castel Ruffel, situated on an escarped eminence, the highest point in the commune. It is protected by a defence, nearly circular, following the outline of the hill, connected with two demilunes which protected the side easiest of approach. All these defences are formed of blocks of stone, without any mixture of earth or lime. At a distance of some paces from this work, which is probably a Gaulish oppidum, is a covered alley, forty feet long, and formed of two rows of stones, inclined against each other. This kind of covered alley, of which some

examples exist near Douarnenez, is rarer than those formed

of upright stones, supporting horizontal slabs.

From the summit of Castel Ruffel, the lande of St. John, in the commune of Leuhan, is visible, where are two considerable tumuli, between which the Roman Road from Quimper to Carlaix runs. At two hundred paces in the same lande is an alignment, now consisting of three stones, only one of which, about 12 feet high, is standing upright. The following account of this stone was given us:—The Lord of Ruffel Castle had a daughter, by no means remarkable as a model of virtue, of which she gave a proof by going off one day with a lover, without bidding her father good-bye. He was preparing to set off in pursuit of the fugitives, but as they had a considerable start, he had only the satisfaction of seeing them crossing the lande of St. Jean, on which he took up one of the stone masses that guarded his castle, and threw it after them; but, falling short, it stuck in the ground as it now stands.

None of the monuments that I have mentioned have. with the exception of Castel Ruffel, been noticed by anyone, and are hardly known except to the immediate neighbours. The brief notice, however, that I have here given of them, may suffice to show that a visit to Toul Laëron, and its neighbouring communes, would repay an archæologist's visit. Besides the attraction of the beauty of its scenery, this district still retains the most ancient popular songs and tales to be found in Britanny; but, unfortunately, it is impossible to travel there without some knowledge of Breton, for very few peasants speak French. Moreover, respectable looking citizens are not always looked on in a pleasant manner. The roads are difficult to make out, and there is a considerable chance of loosing oneself, without the satisfactory compensation of meeting, as Jean did, with a White Lady.

R. F. LE MEN.

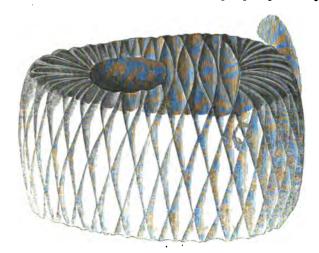
### CARVED STONE HAMMER.

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THE accompanying cut gives an accurate representation of the very curious stone celt lately exhibited in the Temporary Museum, at Bangor.

It was found by a labourer, in grubbing up a wood on the Maesmore estate, near Corwen, about twenty years ago, since which time it had remained in the hands of the finder, until last year it became the property of myself.



The material of which it is composed is a dusky white chalcedony, and of such extreme hardness that it is almost impossible to make the slightest scratch upon it with an ordinary penknife. Its weight is ten ounces and a half, and its dimensions in length, depth, and greatest breadth are respectively, two and a half, two, and one and a half inches.

On a reference to the illustration, the character of the ornament will be clearly understood. It bears no resemblance to the patterns frequently found on bronze celts, very rarely on stone ones, and though it cannot be termed very artistic, yet it has been evidently worked out with great care and regularity, and, considering the hardness

of the stone, must have cost a considerable amount both of time and labour. It is, moreover, hardly possible to conceive how it could have been done so well without metal tools, and those too of the hardest kind; for that such have been employed may be inferred from the manner in which the hole has been drilled. In ordinary examples, as is well known, the perforation is effected by the borer being worked round successively on each face to half the thickness of the stone, so that the two apertures either meet in the centre, or are separated by a slight partition wall, which is easily broken through. such cases the sides of these apertures converge, in a greater or less degree, according to the hardness of the stone, or the care and labour of the operator; but in this instance this convergence almost, if not entirely, vanishes, as if the hole had been drilled in the ordinary manner of the present day. If so, the drill must apparently have been formed of some hard metal.

There may be some doubt as to the exact purpose for which this implement was intended; for, although it has undoubtedly the form and appearance of an ordinary hammer, it was evidently not intended for ordinary use as a hammer, and certainly bears no marks of any such If such things as processional or sacrificial hammers existed in Druidical mysteries, one might imagine it may have been once the property of a real Archdruid; but the extreme rarity of such ornamented stone implements does not allow us to assume the existence of such sacrificial hammers. It may, however, be an implement of war—a kind of mace, such as a Celtic chief might have wielded—or, if not so well fitted for that purpose, might have been a portion of the royal insignia. A third conjecture is, that it was the central pendant of a large necklace; but its size and weight are opposed to such an explanation, nor were any other portions of the supposed necklace found, to say nothing of other objections. again is it likely that it was intended for a counterpoise, or any other weight, as suggested by others. we can say of it is, that it is a stone hammer, but for what use intended it is doubtful. It is, at any rate, a very singular specimen—if not unique—of its class. If such is the case, it is curious that this is the second occasion on which the county of Merioneth has produced an unique article; the first being the iron celt found on the Berwyn mountains, still retaining a portion of its oaken shaft, and at present in the British Museum, to which it was given by the owner, F. R. West, Esq., of Ruthin Castle, at the request of the Association.<sup>1</sup> E. L. B.

# PARDON TO RYS AP GRUFFITH AP ARON, OF PENIARTH, AND OTHERS.

(From the original, or a very early copy, at Peniarth.)

Be hyt knowyn to all maner men that William lord Herbert and of Pembrock Justice to our Souerayn lord Kinge Edward iiijth yn Sowthwalles and Northwalles hath pardoned Rys ap Gruffith ap Aron, Llewelyn ap Ieuan ap Ywain, Ieuan ap Llewelyn Gwith, Thomas ap Ieuan ap Gruffith, Madoc ap Eignion, Llewelyn ap Gruffith ap Ieuan ap David ap Grono, Howel ap Howel ap Edneved, Howel ap Llewelyn ap Edneved, John ap David ap Madoc, Howel ap Ievan ap Ievan Lloyt, Ievan ap Eignion ap Ievan ap Eignion, David ap Madoc ap David Bwl, Gruffid ap Llewelyn ap Gruffith Lloyt, David ap Ievan ap David Bwl, Howel ap Medyn, Ievan ap Dycus ap David, Gruffith ap David ap y Goff, Gruffith ap Ievan ap David Twppa, Ievan ap Eignion ap David Twppa, David ap Dyo ap David Twppa, Ievan ap Llewelyn ap Cadwalader, Ievan ap Howel ap Medyn, Gruffith ap David ap Ievan Wyth, David ap Ievan ap Llewelyn ap Cadwalader, of the Comot of Talpont in the schir of Meryoneth, of all Manner tresons, felonys, trespas, and all othir offences donne be them or be any of them befor the dat of this bille, acording with the excepcions in the Articles of the sayd lord's proclamation be Auctorite of a Comission direct be our sayd Souerayn lord theking to the sayd lord Herbert. Wryttyn the xxvij. day of August the viij. yer of the reyn of our Sayd Souerayn lord T. Wellms C. of Hardlagh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A second instance of an iron celt, or axe, with part of the wooden handle in it, has recently come to my knowledge. If I am not mistaken, it is in the collection of John Hughes, Esq., of Gwerclas.—Ed. Arch. Camb.

(Indorsed)—Ad peticionem Meuric Vaughan de Nanne in Comitatu Merioneth concessum.

It was long after King Edward the Fourth had succeeded in seating himself on the throne of England, that the whole of North Wales could be brought into subjection to the House of York. David ap Ievan ap Eignion, who had been appointed constable of Harlech Castle by King Henry VI., and others, mostly kinsmen to the constable, continued to hold it till the year 1468, though an Act of Parliament had been passed, declaring that all those would be reputed traitors who did not deliver up the castle by the 2nd February, 1462; and another Act, requiring its surrender by the 23rd May, 1465.

Also, in the sixth year of Edward IV., certain captains of the Lancastrian faction wasted with fire and sword, the suburbs of the town of Denbigh, and one of these captains is stated to have kept the hundred of Nantconwy

for fifteen years against the king.

Such being the state of the country, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Richard Herbert, his brother, in 1468, were dispatched by Edward to reduce these Welsh rebels.

The cruelties perpetrated on that occasion seem to have exceeded what was common even in that age of cruelty; for we find that "the Earle did execute his chardges to the full, as witnesseth this Welsh rime," of which the following is a translation:—"At Harlech and Denbigh every house was in flames, and Nantconwy in cinders; 1400 from our Lord, and sixty and three."

The result of this was such as might have been anticipated. We find Sir John Wynn, in his history of the Gwydir family, speaking of the state of the districts where these events occurred, after the expedition, as "Earle Herberte's Desolation."

The siege of Harlech was intrusted by the Earl to Sir Richard Herbert. Upon a summons to surrender being sent to the constable, David ap Ievan, who had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See History of the Gwydir Family, pages 76, 87, 90, 96, 134, 8vo. edition.

been a soldier in the wars in France, replied that he had kept a castle in France so long that he made the old women in Wales talk of him, and that he would keep this castle so long that he would make the old women in France talk of him.<sup>2</sup>

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The attempt to reduce the fortress was found by Herbert so ineffectual, that at last he obtained the surrender of it, only upon composition, and upon terms not unfavourable to the Welsh commander.

It was, doubtless, for their having been implicated in the stand which was at this time made for King Henry VI., that the pardon to Rys ap Gruffith ap Aron, and those associated in it with him, was granted. In the Acts of Parliament above referred to, the names of the defenders of Harlech Castle are given, and though neither the name of Rys ap Gruffith, nor of any of those mentioned in the pardon, there occur, yet it may be stated that the name of Griffith Vychan ap Griffith ap Eignion, who it will be seen was one of the "tutores" in Rys's will, appears in the first of these Acts.

In the Hengwrt MS., No. 85, called "Y Llyfr Gwyn," is a statement of the numbers and cost of the soldiers engaged in Lord Pembroke's expedition. This, no doubt, will be interesting to some of the readers of the Archæo-

logia Cambrensis, and it is subjoined.

A° 1468. y daeth arglwydd Herbert i Wynedd dan ladd a llosgi a chodi dyfawr dreth ar bob Cwmwd y Gwynedd ar Gymwd o Penllyn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Life of Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, page 8. <sup>3</sup> See Archæologia Cambrensis for January, 1860, p. 23.

It will be observed, that the summing up of the above figures is not correct. That at the foot of it is very far from true, and the cost of 54 men, at 13s. 4d., would amount, not as here stated, to £33 6s. 8d., but to £36. The correct total cost then amounted to £541 10s., and the number of men is 330. This seems to be but an insignificant number to be employed upon such an expedition; and it is perhaps not improbable that it was but a detachment from Pembroke's army, sent to reduce a portion of the wild districts against which the army was dispatched. Our countrymen, however, were probably at this time little better than a set of undisciplined barbarians, and against such, a few well disciplined men would doubtless produce a great effect.

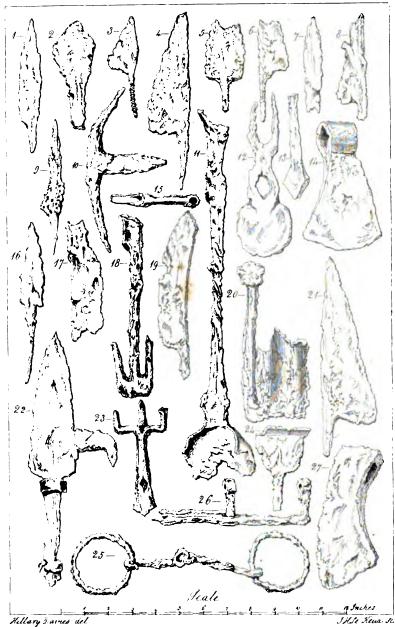
1860. W. W. E. W.

### URICONIUM.

Ar a time when public attention is so much directed to the discoveries made by excavations at Wroxeter, it is of importance to collect as many facts and observations as possible to throw light on the probable date of the destruction of the Roman city of *Uriconium*.

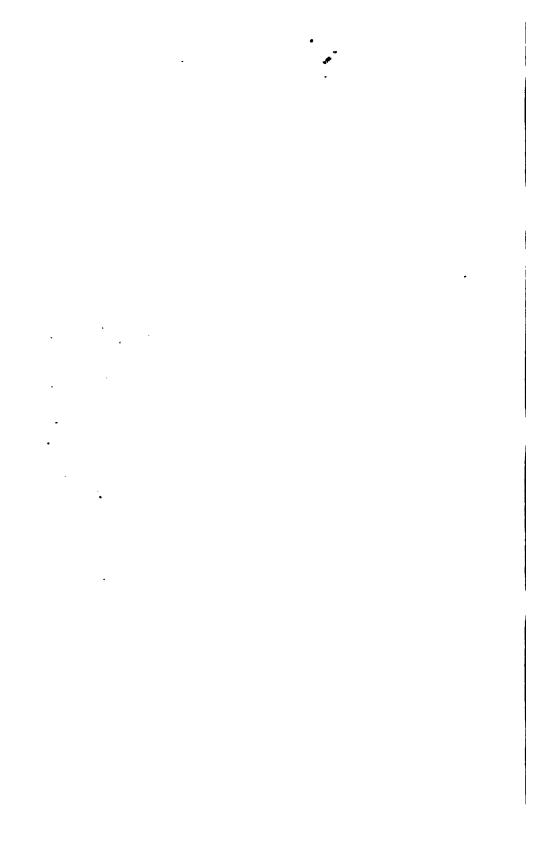
With this object in view, we reprint from Baxter the article on the place in question, in order that the opinions and conjectures of a very acute though too fanciful and too theoretical an antiquary may be fresh in our readers' recollections:—

"Veroconium Antonini atque Ptolemæi, Ravennati Monacho prodigiosè (uti ferè omnia) Utriconion est Cornoninorum: Puto in Exemplari fuisse Græco 'Ονερικόνιον Κορνοείνων; uti sint & Cornavii & Cornovii & Cornovini συνώνυμα vocabula. Atque inde quidem novimus Veroconium fuisse Cornaviorum Caput. Vaticano Libro dicitur Cornoviorum. Saxonibus hæc urbs appellata est pnekencearcen, quod Veroconium urbs est, Anglisq; hodie correptè Untorzetter pro Weroc-ceaster. Fuisse autem cam non ignobilem ostendunt murorum veterum vestigia, quorum ambitus ad III. penè M. P. etiam hodie visitur. Nomen dedit urbs inclyta & vicino monti Veroconio sive Unteten, ut & vicino vico olim Castello Untrochardin,



ROMAN IMPLEMENTS OF IRON FOUND AT WROXETER.





quod ibridà compositione Arcem sonat Veroconiensem. Apud Nennium Britannum Caer Urnach est urbi vocabulum, quod quidem quid sit equidem divinare nequeo; nisi forsan correpte dicatur pro Caer uar na ûag, quod Civitas est ad cervicem fluctûs. De Urnaco enim Gigante, de quo crepant Britannorum Fabellæ, piget quicquam referre. Neque sane Veroconium ipsum aliud quicquam sonat quam Uar o cond iü, sive Super aqua principe vel Sabriana: Nam & Cond & Kend Britannis fuisse pro Capite & Principe nos aliàs diximus. Exstat etiam antiqui operis insignis parietina, accolis vocati The old Whork sive Vetusti operis. Hoc equidem conjecterim ex arcuum vestigiis Romanum fuisse Balneum. Supervacuum foret hic monere plurima Romanorum Numismata atque tessellata Pavimenta ferè quotidie hic effodi ab agricolis terram vertentibus. Nuperrimè etiam illic insignis reperta est Hypocausis, de quâ consulenda sunt Acta Philosophica. Antiqua durat inter plebem fama hanc urbem fuisse, immissis de Veroconio monte Passeribus, à Danis incensam: quod quidem quid sit alii forsan melius dicent. Equidem suspicatus sum Passeres istos perfugas fuisse Monachos vel Eremitas, de monte Veroconio. Certè posteris temporibus Mons iste Sancti Gilberti appellatus est, unde Gilbertini Monachi. Quin & ferreum Sigillum inde erutum satis bono indicio est eam non fuisse à Saxonibus deletam: Siquidem Sigillo isti insculptum est Reguli cujusdam Caput Romano diademate cinctum, & promissiore comâ, sub hâc Inscriptione, CANVT servi dei. Hunc equidem conjectrim Offam fuisse Merciorum Regem, ob literas Græcas Latinis intermixtas, quod sequioris erat ævi. Imò conjecerim vel ex Ravennatis Itinerario, quod illius meminit sub sinem septimi sæculi tanquam Capitis Cornaviorum, eam floruisse ad sæva Danorum tempora. Forsan etiam Regia hic aliquando fuerat Merciorum Sedes. De tantæ urbis ruderibus, melioribus (uti quidem. speramus) auspiciis, Caput suum extulit Veroconium Novum, non ita longè à Vetere positum, de Alneto Britannis, ut vulgò fertur, dictum Pengüern; cùm nobis ex autoritate vetustissimi Bardi Lomarchi Senis, qui floruisse fertur sexto sæculo, manifestè pateat Penquernum istud fuisse nomen Arcis vel Domicilii juxta Trenium amnem, in vico appellato Berriü in Povoisiâ. Trenius iste hodie communiori vocabulo Rhiü dicitur sive Rivus; unde & vico nomen Ber-Riü, ac si Crus dicatur Rivi. Urbi autem nostræ Britannicum hodie nomen Amnythic est, tanquam Dumosa: Nam Amnyth Britannis sunt Fruticeta, ab Am scilicet quod Circum est, & Wyth vel Gwyth, Sylva; unde & Ferus aper in Legibus Regis Houeli Güyth-hüch dicitur, tanquam Sylvestris sus. Quis etiam nesciat idem dici Saxonibus Schobber-bynız quod & Britannis Amüythic; cum Scrobbes, Schyber sive Shruhs dicantur Frutices, & Byniz, Burgus sive Castellum? Normanni tandem, ex odio literæ R, de Scrobesberie fecêre Slopesberie; unde & Latinizantium Salopia consicta est, sicuti etiam Salisberia de Sarisberia. Dicta est etiam alio nomine Lynic-byniz, sive Ecclesiæ Burgus, propter Ecclesias conditas à Regina Ædelfieda, sanctissima Fæminâ & devotâ Deo, uti credi par est. Hæc equidem ed libentiùs

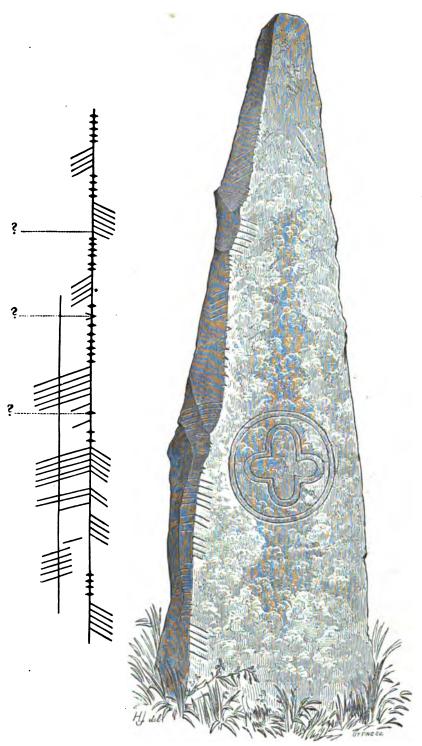
commemoro quo antiquæ Patriæ meæ memoriam reddam illustriorem: Siquidem in hâc urbe à duobus retrò sæculis, Majores mei Duumviratu, summo ejus loci honore, functi sunt, posterique eorum civitate gaudent perpetuâ; quod de Romano antiqui Veroconii jure tractum existimaverim. Fuerat autem initio Veroconium Britannis Cornaviis Caput, sicuti & Deva Romanis."

### EARLY INSCRIBED STONES OF WALES.

#### ERECT STONE WITH OGHAMS AT BRIDELL.

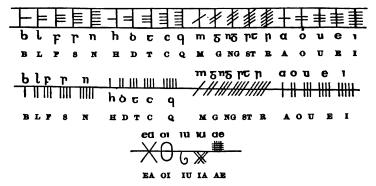
AT Bridell, in northern Pembrokeshire, near Cardigan, there is standing erect in the church-yard, to the south of the sacred edifice, and partly shaded by a venerable yew tree, a stone, commemorating some Christian man probably interred beneath it. It is from the porphyritic greenstone formation of the Preseleu Hills, such as those at St. Dogmael's, Cilgerran, and elsewhere used for similar purposes; but it is somewhat more elegant in shape, tapering uniformly to the top, nearly covered with a thin grey lichen, and hardly, if at all, injured by the weathering of many centuries. On its northern face is incised an equal-armed cross within a circle, early in its character, as much so perhaps as any cross to be met with in this district. There are no other sculptures, nor letters, upon the stone; but all along the north-eastern edge, and down part of the eastern side, occurs a series of Oghams, which may be considered almost uninjured. This state of good preservation may be inferred first of all from the very precise manner in which the incisions have been made, and next from the circumstance of their following the original indentations and irregularities of the edge, thus showing that the stone was in form just as we now see it when these occult characters were first cut upon it.

An illustration, reduced from several accurate drawings and rubbings, from sketches, from repeated handlings, and from minute examinations made during several suc-



Erect Stone with Oghams at Bridell.

cessive years, is here annexed; but, though it is hoped that due fidelity of delineation has been attained, it is much to be wished that a careful cast of this stone should be taken, and that copies of it should be submitted to the inspection of Irish antiquaries, if indeed they still feel disinclined to come and see for themselves these ancient stone records of the sister isle. We dwell on this circumstance because there are many peculiarities to be observed in the Oghams on this stone; and because, even with the aid of Professor Graves's alphabet, which we here again append, this inscription has not been hitherto



satisfactorily deciphered. A single cut occurs on the face of the stone near the upper portion; and it will be understood that the Oghamic marks are made darker than they actually are in order to catch the eye more decidedly.

This is the longest collection of Oghams on any stone in Wales, and it extends partly over three lines, if our interpretation of it is correct. A scheme of it, which we offer with diffidence, is given; and we recommend members to try and read it by the aid of the alphabet just mentioned—an alphabet verified, as they are aware, by the SAGRANVS stone in the neighbouring precincts of St. Dogmael's Abbey. Whether all the Oghamic marks on this stone are to be considered as forming only one line, or whether they are to be divided into two or three, difficulties seem to present themselves. The two

opening and the two closing Oghams on the edge are very decided in their character, so are the longer cuttings which extend across the east side of the stone; but though we think that we can approximate to a reading of some satisfactory nature for ourselves, we prefer not bringing it forward until after further conference with

antiquaries experienced in such matters.

The church, which is under the invocation of St. David, is a chapel belonging to Manor Deifi, beyond Cilgerran. It contains a font of the thirteenth century, similar in design to most Pembrokeshire fonts, viz., a cubical block, chamfered off, and cut into circular sides beneath; but the edifice itself is not older than the fifteenth century, when it probably replaced an older building.

In a field adjoining the church-yard to the west, there were discovered some years ago a considerable number of interments, each in a kind of cistfaen; and this would indicate that the precincts of the yard extended much

further than is now the case.

H. L. J.

# Ohitnary.

Another excellent antiquary, a finished artist, and a scientific architect—one of the earliest and warmest friends of our Association—has just been lost to us, in the person of the Rev. JOHN PARKER, M.A., Vicar of Llanyblodwell. His health had lately become much deteriorated, and in August last his frame, never very strong, sank under repeated attacks of a prolonged To those, who knew him well, no further allusion to his archæological and artistic acquirements is necessary; but to those members, who were not personally acquainted with him, it is desirable to mention that he was one of the most accomplished and most amiable men whose names have done honour to our lists. His powers and his taste as a draftsman, and as a painter in water colours, were most remarkable; he had seen many parts

of Europe; knew all parts of his own country; and, to use a figure of speech not very much exaggerated, had drawn and painted everything. Snowdon was visited by him ten years in succession, with the sole purpose of studying "that monarch of Welsh mountains" scientifically and artistically. His portfolios of Snowdon views alone are most copious, and beautiful enough to make the fortune of a dozen ordinary painters. Nearly all North Wales has been delineated by him with equal care, though not in equal detail. Staffa and Killarney claim a portfolio each, of exquisite artistic skill, in his great collection. His treatment of the Swiss glaciers was most successful; and his "portraits of plants," as he was wont to term them, ought all to be exhibited. In his architectural portfolios are all the best bits of all the mediæval buildings of Wales (omitting mention of subjects from other countries). He had drawn all the screens in Welsh churches, and all the chief types of fonts. These treasures he was wont to put at the disposal of our Association; and not a few of them will be remembered by those members who partook of his hospitality at the Welshpool Meeting. We need only refer to the engraving of the screen in old Radnor Church for a proof of his artistic skill. Mr. Parker was also a thoroughly scientific and practical architect; his works are known in the district where he lived; and, though some members might not have agreed with him on the subject of internal colouring and decoration, yet none would dispute his science and his skill. His house and garden on the Tanat he made one of the most beautiful things in Wales. He had nearly finished the restoration of his church at his own sole cost, and by his own hand, when he had to lay aside paper, pencil, and compasses for ever! Much difference of opinion had been caused by his having erected a spire of a peculiarly curved outline in the new detached tower of Llanyblodwell Church; by many it was considered incongruous; by some unauthorized. We do not know whether its architect was aware of the circumstance; but an admirable precedent for it exists in the church of Schelestadt, a building of the earlier portion of the thirteenth century, in the east of France. Mr. Parker, who was Local Secretary of our Association for Shropshire, and as long as health permitted took an active personal interest in our proceedings, was not only a man of taste, and a man of science, but he was also a man of learning. He was a good scholar; his learning was most extensive; his judgment original but sound; his generosity was carried almost to a weakness; his hospitality proverbial; his friendship warm and unwavering.

We have now lost from among us most of our older anti-

quaries: Henry Hey Knight, John Montgomery Traherne, John Williams, John Morris; but John Parker is the first of the next generation of archæologists of whom Wales is now deprived, and whom she could least afford to lose! One of our very best and ablest men is gone! gone for our loss—for his own gain. A more thoroughly virtuous, pious, and amiable man, lived not in our days!

# Correspondence.

### "ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WELSH."

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

Sir,—I am uncertain how far a paper bearing the above title, and communicated to your Journal by the Rev. Robert Williams, of Rhydycroesau, is to be regarded as a reply, or at least as a sequel, either to Mr. Wright's speculations, or to my own, on the same subject. For, on the one hand, the writer makes no reference to those speculations, unless indeed he disposes of them summarily under the designation of "crude theories." On the other hand, the title which he has prefixed to his article, being the same which was adopted by both parties in the controversy of which I have just spoken, leaves it hardly doubtful that he has had an eye to that controversy. At all events, I shall accept the title as a sufficient justifi-

cation for commenting briefly upon the paper in question.

Mr. Williams sets out by stating that "attempts have been made, in modern times, to prove that the general belief of the Welsh being the direct descendants of the Ancient Britons is entirely erroneous, and that the British isles were colonized by the Gwydhelian race, or Irish, long before the appearance of the Cymry, or Welsh." The view which contradicts the general belief on these points, is designated by the convenient and comprehensive formula of "the anti-Welsh theory." But neither the terms in which this theory is stated, nor the arguments by which it is impugned by Mr. Williams, make it at all plain to my apprehension that this accomplished Celtic scholar has a clear view of the position of his antagonists; for that of which he speaks as a single "theory," consists, in fact, of two wholly distinct propositions, neither of which is necessarily involved in the other. It is not very easy to say in every case what people mean when they speak of the "Ancient Britons;" but assuming that Mr. Williams applies that term to the tribes which came into contact with the Romans in South Britain (supposing those tribes to have been homogeneous), it is clear that it is perfectly possible for one who allows the Welsh to be "the direct descendants of the Ancient Britons" to believe in the prior occupation of Britain by the Gaelic race,—and that it is equally possible, although perhaps somewhat paradoxical, to deny the origin popularly attributed to the Welsh, and yet to believe them to have been the first inhabitants of the island. The former was apparently the view of E. Lhuyd; the latter was maintained, if my memory serves me right, by Sir W. Betham. With the probability of either view I have nothing to do at present; I merely wish to point out that they are entirely distinct from one another. I may, however, observe in passing, that Mr. Williams appears to me to have fairly answered the argument upon which E. Lhuyd grounds the theory to which he objects. En revanche, he has curiously misunderstood that writer in a secondary point. E. Lhuyd says:—

"As the words Coom, Dore, Stour, Tame, Dove, Avon, &c., in England confess that they are no other than the Welsh Cum, Dur, Ys Dur, Tav, Dyvi, and Avon, and thereby show the Welsh to be the old inhabitants,—so do the words Uysk, Luch, and several others, make it manifest that the Irish were anciently inhabitants of those places," &c.

Upon this Mr. Williams observes:-

"With regard to the words, which Llwyd quotes above, to prove that they are derived from the Welsh exclusively, unfortunately for his theory, every one of them is common to the Irish as well as the Welsh."

Mr. Williams has clearly missed the point of Lhuyd's argument, which is simply this:—"As the existence of Welsh (as opposed, not to Irish, but to English) names of places prove the prior occupation of England by the Welsh (as opposed, not to the Irish, but to the English) race, so," &c. However, if E. Lhuyd meant what Mr. Williams supposes him to mean, viz., that the local nomenclature of England proves it to have been formerly in the occupation of a Welsh, as opposed to a Gaelic, race, it follows that Mr. Williams, while destroying a main argument in favour of what he calls "the anti-Welsh theory," has also destroyed a strong argument in favour of his own position.

Against Mr. Williams' criticism of Sir W. Betham I have nothing to say, except perhaps that it is superfluous:

"Who breaks a butterfly upon a wheel?"

But after so elaborate a refutation of this author, I am surprised that no notice is taken of the distinguished writers by whom the prior occupation of Britain by the Gaelic race has been either maintained or adopted. Let me name, for example, Niebuhr and Arnold, the brothers Thierry, and Dr. Prichard. The great ethnologist whom I have mentioned last, and who can hardly be called an "unqualified pretender," even from Mr. Williams' point of view, is of peculiar importance with reference to the present question. For he not only held the priority of the Gael as inhabitants of this island, while he believed the Welsh to be descended from the "Ancient Britons;" but he considered, in common with Professor Zeuss and Mr. Williams, that the ancient inhabitants of Gaul were more nearly allied to the

Welsh than to the Gaelic race, without being driven to the inference (which to Mr. Williams appears irresistible) that the Gael did not precede the Cymry in the occupation of Britain. Between this conclusion and the passage cited from Professor Zeuss, I cannot see the slightest shadow of a connection. All that Zeuss proves, or wishes to prove, is that the continental Celts (so far as we have evidence to show) spoke a language more like Welsh than Irish. It is quite a different question which race occupied the ground first. How then can it be said that the opinion of Zeuss "completely overthrows the idea of the Gwydhelians preceding the Cymry in the occupation of Britain?"

However, Mr. Williams considers that the Gaelic type was first developed in Ireland; that the Cymraeg was the original language of that country, and that it was corrupted by the intrusion of two foreign elements, one of them Teutonic, and the other allied to the Basque:—

"All this agrees with Irish traditional history, in deriving successive immigrants from Belgium and Spain."

I confess that geographical considerations appear to me to weigh very strongly against a direct colonization of Ireland from either Belgium or Spain; at all events, before we adopt such a hypothesis, it may be as well to see whether the phenomena cannot be accounted for in some other way, with equal plausibility. For example, with regard to the Teutonic element, is it not possible that it may be part of the common heritage of the Indo-European race, lost in Welsh, but retained in Irish, and in the Teutonic dialects? In fact, is the phenomenon essentially different from that which presents itself upon the comparison of any three languages of the Indo-European stock? The connection of another element of the Irish language with the Basque, is stated by Mr. Williams, apparently on the authority of E. Lhuyd, and not as the result of his own researches. Assuming the fact, however, may it not point to a different interpretation? Is it not much more likely that the Celts found a people allied to the Basque race, already existing in the British islands; and that the latter were exterminated in the more fertile and open parts of the country, while, after holding their ground for a time in the more remote and mountainous districts, as in Ireland, the Highlands, and possibly in parts of Wales, they eventually amalgamated in various proportions with the invaders in those regions? Such a view appears to me to agree with the linguistic phenomena quite as much as that which is put forward by Mr. Williams, while it is far more in accordance with geographical probability. I must add that it seems to fall in with what is known or conjectured concerning the primæval ethnology of Europe, as well as with the most recent results of archæological inquiry.

It is right to say that this view, or something very like it, is given by Mr. Edwin Norris in an appendix to his valuable edition of the Cornish *Ordinalia*. Mr. Norris agrees with Mr. Williams in regarding the Welsh as a purer example of Celtic than the Irish; while both would agree in considering that the Irish retains in many instances the more ancient forms. They also agree in supposing that the Irish language was developed either in Ireland, or at all events in the British islands, but here the agreement ceases. Mr. Williams thinks that the pure Celtic was corrupted by subsequent immigrants; while Mr. Norris conjectures that this corruption arose from an amalgamation taking place between the invaders and the Allophylian aborigines. I have already indicated to which of these alternatives I should incline. All that I have added to the conjecture of Mr. Norris is to point out its coincidence with the alleged connection between the Basque and one of the non-Celtic elements in the Irish language.

Perhaps I ought to apologize for having entered into this question while I am at a distance from books, and consequently unable to verify my statements. However, as I have attempted very little beyond testing the validity of Mr. Williams' inference from his own premises, a process for which an array of authorities is not required, I hope the offence is venial. If I have in any degree misunderstood Mr. Williams' reasoning, it will give me much pleasure to be cor-

rected .- I remain, &c.,

Beddgelert, July 25, 1860.

W. BASIL JONES.

### CARNEDDAU IN PEMBROKESHIRE.

To the Editor of the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I beg leave to mention some of the most remarkable carneddau or tumuli unopened in Pembrokeshire, either grouped or singly, that have come under my notice: of those composed entirely of stone, and of large dimensions, are the three that crown the summit of *Moel Trigarn*.

These carneddau are each nearly equal both in size and height. The diameter of each is at the base 85 feet, taken many years since

when I last visited the spot.

The camp surrounding these carneddau is fortified on the least assailable or north side by a double agger of loose stones, and on the opposite by a triple stone intrenchment. Several hollows of different dimensions that were anciently the site of tents, or Celtic cyttyau, are observable over the surface of the camp, particularly on the south side, and a very ancient rudely-paved road runs from below, passing the north side of the carneddau.

From the projecting rock on the west end of this camp there is a very fine view of the Breselu range of hills, terminating with the bold head-land of Dinas, near Newport; my memoranda bear date in the year 1808.

One of these carneddau was partially opened many years ago; but the force employed for the purpose failed to reach the centre, and quitted it unexplored. I should strongly recommend that the examination of these remains be properly recommenced by our Association.

Many of the grouped tumuli of Crugiau Cemaes, which appear to be formed of earth, are very worthy of notice, and have not been disturbed,

although some exhibit partial openings.

The great earthen barrow, surrounded by a ditch, with a truncated top, common to most of those termed King's Barrows, which lies upon the border of Pembrokeshire, adjoining the county of Caermarthen, and is called Crug y Deyrn, (i. e., the king's heap or mound,) is well worthy of being minutely explored, as the contents, coupled with the name, would at once settle the question whether such mounds, encompassed by a ditch, and truncated, were sepulchral, or constructed

for minor posts of defence.

There are also some barrows on the right side of the road going from Fishguard to Haverfordwest, and not far from the ninth or tenth mile-stone, with Rudbaxton Church on the left-hand hill-side. Independently of these, there are numerous tumuli of earth and stone that cap our Pembrokeshire hills, which have not come under my immediate notice; but I should recommend to the active members of our Association to note down such as they may observe, stating the size and position of each barrow, together with the names of places adjacent, and then to transmit, from time to time, such minutes to the General or Local Secretary as may be most convenient, in order that a printed list of such discoveries may be inserted in the pages of the Journal, and prove a guide to the future examinations of antiquaries.

I shall close these remarks by laying before our members the best method of opening these curious sepulchres, as practised in Wiltshire by the late Sir Richard C. Hoare, and followed by me in my researches

among the tumuli of Pembrokeshire, and other localities

If it is a carn or barrow of stone of great dimensions, and much elevated above the surface, an adit of above 4 feet wide should be commenced from the outer circle level with the soil, and carefully worked inwards, until the centre of the tumulus is reached, when, if no indications of cremation are observed, the search should not be given up, for very often in the carn no fire has been used, and the skeleton of the chieftain interred is found whole in a stone cist, or cistfan, below the surface of the original soil; and this can be generally determined by the appearance of the earth.

When, on the contrary, the carn or tumulus is a small one, and not much elevated, it will only be necessary to make a square central incision from the summit of about 4 or 5 feet wide, and work carefully

down until the interment is reached.

In barrows constructed of earth, or of earth mixed with stone, the same mode of excavation may be adopted; with this exception, that whenever traces of charcoal are observed, these must be followed most carefully, as they generally lead to the interment, or cist; and in this part of the operation a pickage or mattock should never be used, but a small hand trowel, or blunt knife; for, by not attending to this precaution, many a fine urn has been destroyed at one blow. together with the other, sometimes valuable, contents of the interments.

In cases of urn burial, although the centre of the barrow is almost always the place of deposit, there are some instances to the contrary, where the urn or urns, as in the case of a family manufoleum, are placed in some parts of the outer circle of the mound; and, therefore, whenever any considerable quantity of charcoal, or other signs of fire have been observed in the centre of the tumulus, without arriving at any interment, further search should be made in the direction I have indicated. After any of the examinations thus urged have been made, a copper token, or a penny of the present reign, should be placed deep in the centre of each excavation, and as much of the earth as possible that had been removed should be replaced in the opening, to prevent the otherwise unsightly appearance of the ground; this was invariably done in Wiltshire, whereby the beautiful outline of the barrows was preserved.—I am, &c.,

JOHN FENTON.

Bodmor, near Glynymêl, 28th July, 1860.

### THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF WALES.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,-I cannot but acknowledge "Antiquary"'s courtesy towards

myself in his criticism upon my paper.

He states its main object rather narrowly. That object is, to set out in chronological order the facts affecting the political geography of Wales, with sufficient comments to make them intelligible. Throughout I shun the use of modern names by anticipation,—a fruitful source of confusion in Welch geography. I seek to make good every step before passing on to the next. In construing a legislative act, I first ascertain the state of its subject at the time of its passing, and then apply its language. Thus in due course I show how and when the whole area of Wales became shires, of which Monmouth is one.

No phrase of mine assumes the solution of any controversy about Offa's Dyke. The precise topography, and the political character, of the Dyke, are distinct subjects, of which the former alone, so far as I know, has been in controversy. To this my paper refers in terms studiously general, but specially treats of the latter, which has been but little illustrated. All admit that the Dyke, as a boundary line, was more or less supplemented by that great natural boundary, the lower course of the Wye; and my paper assumes no more. The verse of Necham, and the facts, that Hereford was regarded as a frontier town, and the passage of the Wye by an army as an invasion, prove no more.

What area may properly be called Wales since the union of Wales

to the realm of England in 27 Hen. VIII., 1536?

"Antiquary" holds this question to be one of law, and as such to be decided by the Act 34 and 35 Henry VIII. (1543) c. 26.

The difficulty of his view is this: - From 1536 to 1543 Wales was

unknown to the law; from 1543 to 1830 Wales was known to the law, but in a special and limited sense; and since 1830 Wales has been unknown to the law, even in this sense. It follows that during the second period alone may any area properly be called Wales, and then only in the special and limited sense.

I hold this question to be one of past history; and accordingly I refer to statutes, not as deciding it by their enactments, but as illus-

trating it by their language.

To us the area of historical Wales is its area at the latest period of its history, the year of its union to England. To find this area,—the Wales present to the mind of Henry VIII. and his Parliament in framing the Act of Union,—I refer to the Act itself. Sec. III. (cited by "Antiquary") shows that this Wales comprised, besides eight ancient shires, the whole of the marches up to the then boundaries of the English shires. Further on, all the lordships which go to form the shires of Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh, and to increase the shires of Glamorgan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, and Merioneth, are described as in the country or dominion of Wales; and all the lordships which go to increase the shires of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, are described as in the marches of Wales. Hence I hold that historical Wales clearly comprises the area of thirteen complete shires.

The legal operation of the union of Wales to the realm of England was this: Wales ceased to be known to the law, and its area became a part of the realm of England. The union being unrepealed, its legal operation continues. This Wales has never since been known

to the law.

No Wales was known to the law from 1536 to 1543.

In 1543 the old name was by Act of Parliament revived, but applied to a new thing differing from the old Wales both in quality

and quantity.

The old Wales was a political division of Britain. Immediately before its union it consisted of eight old shires, and a wide expanse of marches. Both shires and marches became by the union legally English, the marches being simultaneously made shire ground; so that in effect the number of legally English shires was increased by thirteen, of which five, and parts of several others, had never, as shire ground, been legally Welch. At the same time one of these thirteen shires was attached to the central judicature of England, the remaining twelve being left or placed under local judicatures.

The new Wales was not a political division, but a judicial province within a great political division, the realm of England. It was a name given by Parliament to twelve shires of the realm within the area of historical Wales, to mark the erection of their various local judicatures into an uniform system; but the twelve shires remained in

every other respect legally English.

In 1830 this system of local judicature was by Act of Parliament abolished, and the twelve shires attached to the central judicature.

The legal name of Wales was not expressly revoked, but the thing which it denoted,—the last legal distinction between these twelve and the other forty shires of the realm,—ceased to exist.

I rely upon the Acts of Parliament cited by "Antiquary," so far as they affect the question; and I refer, when possible, to the edition

printed by the Record Commissioners.

27 Henry VIII. cc. 5, 7, being prior to the union, cannot affect the question of law. C. 5 names eight counties of Wales. C. 7 names none. Neither could possibly have named more, because no more were then in being. The new counties were not created until later in that session.

27 Henry VIII. c. 26.—The whole area west of the English shires is represented as being Wales at the passing of the Act, as made part of England by the Act;—as historically Wales becoming legally part of England;—in its Welch aspect as partly shire ground and partly marches, in its English aspect as wholly shire ground. The shires in this area are represented as being both in Wales (i. e. historically), and in England (i. e. legally).

S. III., cited at length by "Antiquary," is to this effect.

S. IV.—Monmouth as a shire of England.

"The sheriff escheators & coroners that hereafter shall be within the sacounty or shire of Mommouth shall be obliged & bounden to use & exercise their offices according to the laws & statutes of this realm of England in all & everything as the sheriff escheators & coroners be obliged & bounden to do in all & every other shire of this realm of England."

". . . That the sheriffs & escheators of the s<sup>4</sup> shire or county of Monmouth make their accounts for their s<sup>4</sup> offices in the Kings Exchequer in England in like manner & form as other sheriffs & escheators do within this realm of England & upon such like pain & penalty as is upon other sheriffs

& escheators in every other shire within this realm of England."

S. XXVI.—Four old shires of Wales, and the five new shires created by the Act, as shires of England.

"Commission to view all the shires of Caermarthen Pembroke Cardigan Monmouth Brecknock Radnor Montgomery Glamorgan & Denbigh & to divide them into hundreds & the hundreds so divided to certify &c. & that the s<sup>4</sup> hundreds after the s<sup>4</sup> certificate shall be used & taken as other hundreds be in every other shire within this realm of England."

- S. XXVIII.-Monmouth as a shire of England.
- "Two Knights shall be chosen & elected to Parliament for the shire of Monmouth in like manner form and order as Knights of the Parliament be elected & chosen in all other shires of this realm of England."
- S. XXIX.—The other four new shires, and every other shire of Wales, as shires of England.
- "One Knight shall be chosen & elected to Parliament for every of the shires of Brecknock Radnor Montgomery & Denbigh & for every other shire within the country or dominion of Wales, & the election to be in like manner form & order as Knights of the Parliament be elected & chosen in other shires of this realm."

["Antiquary" has cited this section, but imperfectly.]

34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 26.—My view of the language and enactments of this Act is so fully given in my paper and in the former part of this letter, that it need not be repeated.

1 Edward VI. c. 10.

Preamble.—"Where in the 27th year of Hen. VIII. it was enacted that his Highness dominion & principality of Wales & all manors lands tenements & other dominions within the st dominion & principality of Wales should be divided into twelve shires or counties."

This is neither more nor less than an imperfectly worded preamble, ascribing to a single Act the work of two. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26 completed the division of the manors, lands, &c., of Wales into shires. 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26 divided Wales into, or gave the name of Wales to, twelve of those shires. Incorrect preambles are to be found in later Acts of Parliament, and create confusion, but, not being enactments, they confirm nothing. "Antiquary" should have read on to

S. III.—"That all & every sheriff & sheriffs of every of the s<sup>d</sup> counties of Wales & of the counties palatine of Chester & of the city of Chester afsd shall have one sufficient deputy to receive writs & in like manner & form & upon like pains as by the former statutes & laws of this realm other sheriffs of other shires or counties within this realm of England be bounden to have."

11 Geo. IV. and 1 W. IV. (1830) c. 70.

S. XIV.—"All the power authority & jurisdiction of his Majesty's Judges & Courts of Great Sessions both in Law & Equity in the Principality of

Wales shall cease & determine at the commencement of this Act,"

S. XIX.—"From the commencement of this Act Assizes shall be held for the trial & despatch of all matters criminal & civil within the several counties & county towns in the Principality of Wales under & by virtue of commissions of Assize &c. to be issued in like manner & form as hath been usual for the counties in England."

This total abolition of the local judicatures of Wales, and extension of the central judicature of England to their area, is described by "Antiquary" as "modifying the Welch circuits"!

Since this Act the name of Wales, as applied by the Act 34 and 35

Hen. VIII. c. 26, is but a name, for it has no legal application.

The result of our inquiry is,

1. Historical Wales, comprising thirteen shires.

2. A Legal Wales, existing from 1543 to 1830, and comprising

twelve only of these shires, Monmouth being the difference.

Writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries viewed the question of area historically, and accordingly included Monmouthshire in Wales.

1568.—Humphrey Llwyd, a Denbighshire man, the learned contributor of his country's geography to the work of Ortelius, thus writes:—

Brit. Descr. Fragm. p. 105,—

"Hi septem pagi (1) Ceretica (2) Dyvetia (3) Maridunia (4) Morganica

(5) Gwenta qua et Mommethensis (6) Brechenisca et (7) Radenoria, South Wallie ab Anglis tribuuntur."

Sir John Price's Description of Wales, augmented by the same H. Llwyd, and printed in Wynne's History of Wales (1774), is to the same effect.

1587.—Thomas Churchyard, the poetical topographer, thus writes: Worthiness of Wales, p. 5,—

"First I begin, at auncient Monmouth now,
That stands by Wye, a river large & long:
I will that shiere, & other shieres goe throwe,
Describe them all, or els I did them wrong.
It is great blame, to writers of our daies,
That treates of world, & gives to Wales no praise."

See also the descriptions of Oske, p. 19; of Greenefield Castle,

p. 50; and of Denbighshire, p. 101.

1603.—Sir John Dodridge was appointed Serjeant-at-law to Henry Prince of Wales, 1 Jac., 1603 (in which year he wrote his *History of Wales*, see pp. 67, 74, ed. 1714), and Justice of K. B. 1613, and died 1628; and his *History of Wales*, Cornwall, and Chester was first printed after his death, in 1630. He thus writes:—

P. 2, ed. 1714,-

"The whole country is now allotted into shires, which are thirteen in number, & namely these,---

"1. Radnorshire, "2. Brecknocksbire,

"3. Monmouthshire,
"4. Glamorganshire, &c.

P. 40,-

"There had been in Wales anciently eight several shires or counties, besides the county of Monmouth, which was the ninth."

P. 41,-

"[Hen. VIII.] Ordained also that the County of Monmouth, formerly being a shire of Wales, should be governed from thenceforth in like manner, & by the same judges, as other the shires of England. Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26."

[These passages are inaccurate so far as they represent Monmouth existing as a shire before that statute.]

P. 48.—

- "There are also other ordinary officers appointed for every shire in Wales by the Statute of 34 Hen. VIII. such & in like manner as in other the shires of England."
- 1607.—Camden published his last revised edition of Britannia, from which edition I cite,

P. 115, Art. "Britanniæ Divisio,"-

"[Dunelmia Lancastria &c.] postea in numerum additæ XXXIX comitatuum numerum compleverunt, quem hodie habemus. Quibus accedunt XIII plures in Wallia, quorum sex fuerunt tempore Edwardi Primi, reliquos Parlamentaria authoritate instituit Henricus Octavus."

### P. 466, Art. "Silures,"-

"Walliam, cujus nomen universam quondam Trans-Sabrinam regionem complectebatur, nunc vero minus latè patet, tres olim populi insederunt, Silures, Dimetæ et Ordovices. Hi enim non solum duodecim, quos vocant, Wallia comitatus, sed duos etiam illos Trans-Sabrinos, Herefordshire & Monmouthshire, qui Anglia comitatibus annumerantur, tenuerunt."

These passages do not really conflict. The first states historically how the shires of the realm were finally raised to their present number, 52, by the Act 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26. The second refers to the division of these shires into Welch and English according to the common opinion, which confounds a modern judicial province with an ancient historical country.

Camden (p. 486) quotes Giraldus' description of "Venta gens," but not to prove that Gwent was in Wales,—a point doubted only by "later writers" than he. As to the Saxon and Norman conquests in Gwent destroying its title to be called Wales, it is sufficient to answer that Henry VIII. and his Parliament reckoned all the Lordships Marchers to be within Wales.

1611.—Speed, in his *Theatre of Great Britain*, adopts the common limitation of Wales to twelve counties only, yet seems to be ignorant of the Act which so limited it; for he views the question not legally but historically, and refers the exclusion of Monmouthshire to historical events dated long prior to the creation of the shire!

1640.—H. of Com. Journ. ii. 57.

I refer to the H. of Com. proceedings, not as over-ruling an Act of Parliament (which they do not even attempt), but as an example of the language of intelligent men as to the area of Wales, in a case not concerning the judicial system created by the Act 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26. "The four shires, the marches of Wales," were Salop, Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester, to each of which more or less of the ancient marches had been added by the Acts 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26, and 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 26.

If the area of thirteen shires were called Wales by such authorities, even whilst a legal Wales of twelve shires had a substantial existence.

a fortiori the same area may properly be called Wales now.

Do the natives of the twelve shires claim their nationality as merely legal,—as dating from, and depending upon, a modern Act of Parliament? Do they admit Wales merely to denote a judicial province, which in fact no longer exists? I will rather believe that Wales, as present to their minds, is an historical country, immortalized in glorious traditions, in noble genealogies, in curious records and monuments, in customs and a language of its own, although long since in fact and law united to, and sharing in the history of, the realm of England.—I am, &c.,

H. S. MILMAN.

August 30, 1860.

### WYNNSTAY MSS.—CHARTERS OF TREFEGLWYS.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—Some years ago I was favoured by Mr. Charles Wynn with the loan of an interesting volume from the Wynnstay Library. It was lettered "Collection of Tracts relative to Wales. MS. William Morris, 1640," and the following is a list of its contents:—

1. Historia Divæ Monacellæ.

 Carta Regum et Principum Powisiæ et Norwalliæ. Ecclesiæ Sanct. Michaelis de Trefeglwys: et Abbati et Canonicis de Haghmon.

3. De Britannia et primis ejus nominibus.

4. De nominibus Civitatum Britanniæ ex Gilda.

 Account of Wales, and of the families, laws &c. temp. Qu. Elizabeth.

6. Genealogical Extracts from the Price MSS.

7. Form and Manner of keeping the Parliament of England.

8. Miscellaneous Welsh Antiquities from the Triads, &c.

9. Vita Griffini filii Conani.

(This was the Latin version, by Bishop Nicholas Robinson. The original version, in the bishop's handwriting, is among the Hengwrt MSS.; and as it has never been printed, it would be very desirable to have it published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.—R. W.)

"Est alia versio hujus vitæ per Edwardum Thelwall Plaswardens.

circ. an. 1580."-W. Morris.

10. Account of the Lordship of Oswestry in Welsh.

Annals of Owen Glyndwr in Welsh.<sup>1</sup>
 Welsh Poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi.

13. Return to the Commission sent by Henry 7th into Wales to

enquire into the Pedigree of Owain Tudor.

This volume was destroyed in the lamentable fire which occurred at Wynnstay, and I now greatly regret that I copied only the first and second articles contained in it. The legend of Monacella has been printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, iii. 137, 1848, and the charters are here subjoined.

ROBERT WILLIAMS, M.A.

Rhydycroesau, Oswestry, July 14, 1860.

CARTA REGIS POWYSIÆ DE TREFEGLUS.

Notum sit omnibus quod Madawc Rex Powyssentium deo suffragante pro redemtione animæ suæ et parentum suorum et necnon et omnium fidelium quadraginta sata consentiente Howell filii Euaf cum

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Coroni Harri y 4<sup>dd</sup> An. 1400. onid un flwyddyn. Y gwanwyn nesaf y llosged Aberconwy. Y flwyddyn nesaf y cyfodes Owain ab Gruffydd tridiau cyn gwyl Fathau. Ar gwylfathau hwnw y llosges ef Ruthun. Duw gwener nesaf ar hynny y bu y lladdfa yn y Fyrnwy. 1404 pan losges Owen Ddinbech. Anno 1406 ar dduw Calanmai y llosges y Saeson Esgobty Llanelwy. Sic ex vet. membrana Wm. Maurice transcripsit."
\* Madog ab Meredydd, King of Powys, 1133 to 1160.

senioribus patriæ dedit Ecclesiæ Sči Michis Bledrus rogatu monachi qui eam primitus constituit scilicet de villa quæ vocatur Tref Cemer et hoc in sempiterno graphio. Qui custodierit sit benedictus et qui non custodierit maledictus: hii sunt testes Abraham filius Bemr capellanus; Morcant filius Maredud, Iorwerth filius Gurgenau præpositus patriæ Argwistli Dolfin Abbas Llandinan Goronwy filii Guin.

Universis sce matris Ecclesiæ filiis tam presentibus quam futuris, Wenunwen<sup>b</sup> filius Owini eternam in Domino salutem; Noverit universitas vestra nos concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse deo et ecclesiæ sci Michis de Trefeglus et Canonicis de Haghemon omnia tenementa quæ habent apud Trefeglwys et ut hæc concessio perpetuæ firmitatis robur obtineat eam sigilli nostri appone roboramus hiis

testibus Suliano Archidiacono Powys, &c.

Howell<sup>c</sup> Rex Argwestli omnibus filiis sce Ecclesiæ tam modernis quam futuris salutem: Notum sit vobis omnibus Monasterium constitutum in villa quæ dicitur Trefeglus ad honorem dei et sci Michis bren betguin ex consensu et dono hæredum s. Idneved Jaco. bledrus. a fossa cimiterii usque ad gelmant et insuper de feodo meo proprio a cruce usque ad gelmant et maes scornaur juxta Nant Carno in mea defentione absque omni calumpnia libere et quiete sine redditu ad refugium omnibus quicunque confugerunt ad prædictam ecclesiam vel ad loca pertinentia ad eam. Et quicunque prædictæ ecclesiæ refugium violaverit iram Dei et omnium sanctorum incurrat. His testibus s. Catel<sup>d</sup> rege Sudgualliæ &c.

Universis Xti fidelibus præsens scriptum inspecturis Mauricius dei gratia Bangoriensis Episcopus salutem in domino ad universorum volumus pertinere notitiam qu Hoelus Dns de Trefeglus Arewistl donavit [Anno 1139] Ecclesiæ de Trefeglus et Canonicis de Hagemon totam terram quæ vocatur Brenbedwin &c. tunc ibm præsentes fuimus et ideo hanc donacionem quantum ad exalem authoritatem pertinet præsenti scripto confirmamus: Nos autem hanc donationem observantibus benedictionem dei et nostram conferimus. Contradicentes cum anathis vinculo innodamus; Teste Catel rege Sudwalliæ, Res fre no &c.

Universis dei fidelibus tam præsentibus quam futuris Meuric filius Howel de Arwystil salutem in domino: noverint universitas vestra me concessisse et præsenti charta confirmasse deo et ecclesiæ Sči Michaelis de Trefeglus et canonicis de Hageman in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam totam terram quæ habent apud Trefeglus ex donatione Howeli patris mei et aliorum fidelium ab omni seculari servitio et exaččone, hiis testibus &c.

· Howel Rex Arwystli was brother of Madog ab Meredydd.

b Gwenwynwyn, Prince of a moiety of Powys, was the son of Owain Cyveiliog, the son of Gruffydd ab Meredydd. After a most active life he died about 1246.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cadell, King of South Wales, was the son of Gruffydd ab Rhys, who died in 1137.

Maurice, Bishop of Bangor, from 1139 to 1161.

Sciant universi sce matris ecclesiæ filii præsentes et futuri quod ego Hoel filius Geuaf consensu hæredum meorum et magnatum terræ meæ et eorum quorum patrimonium erat dedi et concessi in perpetuam elemosinam ecclesiæ sci Michis de Trefeglus quam Bledrus edificavit et Cadwaladr frater Owini magni salutem in domino. Notum sit universitatæ vestræ quod ego Cadwaladrus pro salute animæ meæ et omnium antecessorum meorum et heredum meorum dedi et concessi deo et ecclesiæ Sti Johis evangelistæ de Hageman et canonicis ibm deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ecclesiam de Neuin &c. Aliz de clara uxore mea etc.

Sciant tam præsentes quam futuri quod ego Gruffinus filius Cannan concessi et dedi et confirmavi deo et ecclesiæ Sci Johis evangelistæ de Hageman et canonicis ibm deo servientibus ad ecclesiam eorum de Neuin tres acras in Neuin et Abraham fil Aluredi sutoris et duos filios Jeremie scilt. W. et Jo: in perpetuam elemosinam libere et quiete ad ecclesiam Sce Mariæ de Neuin et prædictis canonicis de Hageman jure perpetuo pertineant.

#### CARTA DAVIDI REGIS NORTHWALIÆ.

Omnibus Sce dei ecclesiæ filiis tam præsentibus quam futuris Davids Bex filius Owini salutem. Notum sit vobis me concessisse abbi et canonicis de Hagemon illam terram quæ T. D. habuit in villa de Neuin ab omnibus terrenis consuetudinibus. Concedo itaque similiter prædictis canonicis decimationem molendini mei de Neuin in perpetuam elemosinam. T. Johe de Burcheltun Rado de lega, Einon seis &c.

Lewelinush princeps Norwalliæ omnibus fidelibus tam presentibus quam futuris præsens scriptum inspecturis Salutem in vero salutari. Noverit universitas vra nos concessisse deo et ecclesiæ scii Johis Evangeliste de Haghemon et canonicis ibm deo servientibus pro salute animæ nræ et animarum patris et Davidi filii Oweni avunculi nri et sicut carta prædicti Davidi filii Oweni testatur. T. Reino Epo Assaph. Rado de Lega &c.

David filius Owini princeps Norwalliæ universis Christi fidelibus Francis et Anglis presentibus et futuris salutem in domino. Sciatis me assensu Emmæ uxoris meæ et Owini hæredis mei etc. Hiis testibus Reino epo. et Rado de lega.

Domina Emma soror Henrici Regis uxor Davidis filii Owini principis Norwallize etc. Sciatis me assensu David Mariti mei et Owini heredis mei &c. T. Einon Seis, Ranulpho de lega.

(Copied from Wm. Morris's MSS. at Wynnstay, March 28, 1845.)

One of the above charters, relating to Nevin Church, is printed in Wynne's *History of the Gwedir Family*, and, as containing some additional particulars, may be here inserted.

Davydd ab Owain, from 1169 to 1194.

f Gruffydd ab Cynan reigned from 1079 to 1137.

Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, his nephew, from 1194 to 1240.
 Reyner was Bishop of St. Asaph from 1186 to 1224.

"Cadwalader frater Owini Magni salutem in Domino; Notum sit universitati vestræ quod ego Cadwalader pro salute animæ meæ & omnium antecessorum & heredum meorum dedi & concessi Deo & Eccl'ie S. Johannis Evan' de Hageman & Canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus in puram & p'petuam Eleemosynam Eccl'iam de Nevin.

T. Alic' de Clara uxore mea, Ranulpho comite Cestriæ, &c. Præcipio quod Abbas Salop & Conventus habeant totam tenuram suam inter Ryblam & Mersam. T. R. Comite de Clara & Cadwaladro ap Gr. ap Cynan rege Walliarum, & Roberto Basset & Gaufrid apud Cestriam."

### LLANBADARN FAWR, CARDIGANSHIRE.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I am sorry to inform you that this grand old edifice is in danger of a thorough mutilation. Parts of the roof having become unsound, a project is now on foot, with the sanction of the incumbent, for taking down the whole of the timber work, selling the oak to a local builder, (who is to undertake the work without the aid of any professed architect,) and replacing it by one of deal. Other mutilations connected with the walls and the internal fittings are, as I am informed, in contemplation. Unfortunately parochial taste in this locality is extremely low, and parochial parsimony just as great; but this is no reason why such a building—historically one of the most important in Wales—should not be rescued from the hands that would injure it. Public attention should be called to the subject, a public subscription raised, and the church should be repaired in a manner worthy of itself, and of the architectural science of the present day.

I wish that this letter might meet the eye of our late President, the Lord Bishop of the diocese, and that he would interpose his veto promptly and decidedly.—I remain, &c., CERETICUS.

### CAMBRIA ROMANA.--AD VIGESIMVM.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

Sir,—I recently had an opportunity of visiting the Roman camp, marked AD VIGESIMVM on the Ordnance map. It is not far from Ambleston, in Pembrokeshire, and is undoubtedly on the line of the Via Julia Maritima. As it has been greatly obliterated by agricultural operations, and as the road running through it—the Via Julia—is now flanked by banks and hedges, I think it worth while to record, for the information of members not personally acquainted with the spot, that its situation is most correctly indicated on the map alluded to. It is desirable to mention this, because it is at the present day exceedingly difficult to find, and in a few years may totally disappear. It seems to have been only a castrum æstivum, a square of about 150 feet in each side, with a single vallum of earth. Towards the south-east corner are faint traces of what may have been the base of a tower.

The road runs westward, and crosses the river Cleddy below Wolf's Castle, continuing its course thence to MENAPIA; eastward it had come up from MARIDVNVM; but I conjecture that a line ran northwards from it towards Puncheston in nearly a straight line, and that it crossed the Preseleu Hills, going by Nevern towards Cardigan. Though I have little more than probabilities gathered from the Ordnance map, added to a few personal observations, for this conjecture, yet I would recommend the subject to the investigation of Pembrokeshire members. It will be remembered that when the Association visited Pentre Ifan and Trewern, at the time of the Cardigan meeting, attention was directed to what was said to be a Roman road coming down from Preseleu, between those two places. This would be just in the direction which I have mentioned above.

I remain, &c.,

A MEMBER.

### PRESTATYN CASTLE, FLINTSHIRE.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

Sir,—I lately got into conversation with a mason from the neighbourhood of Prestatyn, and he told me that at a very low tide, at the above-mentioned place, he saw in the sands the foundation of a stone wall of solid masonry, at least fifty yards long,—not a ruck of stones brought accidentally together by the tides, or ballast thrown out of a ship, but a portion of a wall, solid, and well built with mortar. He saw this at a very low spring tide,—several persons saw it at the same time with him. This is rather remarkable, as the present site of Prestatyn Castle is very ill-defined, and of doubtful position. May not this wall have something to do with the veritable castle of Prestatyn. It stands about half a mile north of the place said to be the old site, and would only be visible at the ebb of a very low spring. The coast here is very shoal for a long way out.—I remain, &c.,

R. H. Jackson.
[If our correspondent will look at Prestatyn again, he will find the old mound of the castle within a square vallum of earth—all much degraded—just below the mill.—Ed. Arch. Camb.]

### BRONWEN'S TUMULUS, ANGLESEY.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—A most gratifying instance of the preservation of what may be considered a national monument has just occurred. At Glan Alaw, in Anglesey, stands a tumulus, in which was found, some years ago, a cistfaen, containing bones supposed to be those of the British Princess Bronwen. The tenant of the farm was preparing to plough the field in which it is, and, if he had ploughed over this tumulus, he might very nearly have obliterated it. However, on the circumstance coming to the knowledge of the owner of the land, Mr. Davies, of the Menai Bridge, that gentleman at once gave directions for

preserving this tumulus, and expressed his intention of having it properly protected for the future. This instance of really good taste and genuine patriotic feeling is well worthy of commemoration, and of imitation also.—I remain, &c.,

September 20, 1860.

### VOELAS PEDIGREE.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—The note at p. 243 was inclosed to you, directed "to be forwarded to J. E.;" and on receiving a proof from the printer, I retained it, informing him as above, and that it was not intended for publication. As, however, the error has been committed, it will be as well to say that at p. 244, "3. Sa," should be "See," and that after "4" should be "See Heaton, in Burke, where Kenelm Digby appears, in error." R. P.

Wirewood's Green, Chepstow,

July 3, 1860.

### CROMLECH IN PALESTINE.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—A writer in the Archæologia Cambrensis, No. XXII., Third Series, p. 149, has made a great mistake about a supposed cromlech in Palestine, by getting a wrong translation of Benjamin of Tudela. The tomb was not covered by a cromlech at all (if he had had it rightly translated), but by "a cupola supported upon pillars." I suppose it was of comparatively late date.—I remain, &c.,

#### T. W.

### VITRIFIED FORT IN BRITANNY.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I observe in the fourth volume of M. Viollet Leduc's great work, The Dictionary of Architecture, at pp. 205, 206, that mention is made of a vitrified fort, to be found at Peron, in the neighbourhood of St. Brieuc. It is stated to consist of an oval inclosure, composed of granite, clay, and trunks of trees; and that the vitrification seems to have been effected by covering the wall with faggots, and then setting fire to the whole. A section of the wall is given, from which it appears that first of all a vallum was made of lumps of granite, mixed with trunks of trees; this was covered on the outer side by a thick stratum of clay. By the action of the burning faggots heaped over the whole the granite has been partially fused and vitrified, while the clay has run into a solid substance, firmly adhering to the agglutinated mass beneath. Round the outside runs a ditch, with a small rampart on the edge of its counterscarp. M. Leduc believes that this is the only instance hitherto met with in France; but we cannot help thinking that other examples will be found by future explorers.

I remain, &c.,

An Antiquary.

# Archwological Botes and Oneries.

Note 55.—CISTFEINI.—A cistfaen, with a row of stones all in a line on the top, about seven feet long, and all above ground, has

been lately met with. The circumstance is worth noting.

N. 56.—House of Querns, Bangor.—Many years ago a large number of querns, or ancient stone hand-mills for corn, were dug up near Bangor, Caernarvonshire. They were so numerous that the finder built a good part of the wall of a cottage with them, and they may now be seen there. The house stands near the branching off of the lane towards Perfeddgoed, about two miles from Bangor, on the Caernarvon road.

ARVONENSIS.

Query 102.—HEADSMAN'S AXE.—Among the numerous collections of early and mediæval arms in Wales, is there any instance of a headsman's axe preserved? and, if so, what is its date and history?

Q. 103.—EARLY BRITISH CIRCLES.—It is well known that the number of stones constituting early British circles are hardly ever the same. My query is: "What is the largest, and what is the smallest, number of stones in a circle—supposed to be complete—hitherto observed?

INQUIRER.

Q. 104.—Corporate Seals.—What is the oldest known date of

any corporate seal connected with Wales?

Q. 105.—Tomes in Churches.—Supposing an ancient church to be undergoing the process of restoration, can tombs and funereal stones be *legally* ejected from the interior of the building?

# Miscellaneans Natices.

BRECON.—St. John's Priory Church.—It is with great satisfaction that we have heard of the Marquis Camden's generous offer to restore the choir and side chapels of this fine edifice at his own sole cost, on condition of the transepts being restored by means of a public subscription. Mr. G. Scott has been consulted with reference to this project; and has, we understand, estimated the cost of the restoration as follows:—Chancel, £1,500; Transepts, £1,500; Nave, £2,000. No doubt the call will be responded to throughout Brecknockshire, and we hope, in the course of another year, to find this great and good work actually begun. Few architectural restorations are more urgently needed; and, in the hands of such an architect, we have no doubt that all archæological requirements will be strictly attended to.

BRECON.—CHRIST'S COLLEGE.—The ancient Dominican Chapel, though still untouched, will ere long be taken in hand by the architects of Llandaff Cathedral, with a view to its restoration. Nothing but a

question of estimates hinders the Trustees named in the Act of Parliament from commencing operations.

St. Fagan's, Glamorganshire.—The church of this parish, standing close by the castle, to the eastward, has been recently repaired with great judgment. Portions of the building are of the thirteenth century: these have been carefully attended to, and preserved. The insertion of some new windows in the place of common square sash lights, which had thrust out the older ones (during the calamitous anæsthetical period of the last century, and the earlier portion of the present) was absolutely necessary. We have seldom seen a more satisfactory manner of treating a building, under the circumstances, than has been evinced on this occasion.

ST. ISHMAEL'S, CAERMARTHENSHIRE.—Considerable repairs have been lately made in this church, one of the most picturesque and curious in the county. A correspondent in Caermarthenshire laments that scarcity of funds has caused the internal fittings to be executed

in a manner which admits of much improvement.

LLANLLAWER, PEMBROKESHIRE.—The ancient church of this parish, which had fallen into great decay, has been taken down, and a new one built on the same foundation, the old materials being used up for the purpose. Some early crossed stones, belonging to the former edifice, have been judiciously preserved, and imbedded externally in the walls of the new one. Within the church-yard is a Ffynnon Sant, with its early vaulted covering, in tolerable preservation. We wish we could hear of the parishioners intending to clean it out, and to put it in a condition worthy of the new church.

TREASURE TROVE.—In consequence of a communication from the Home Office, a "General Order" has been issued to all Inspectors of Police, directing them, whenever they hear of any ancient coins, gold or silver ornaments, or other relics of antiquity being found, to give notice to the finder that he must deliver up to the Sheriff all such coins or articles so found, for which full intrinsic value will be given by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. The police are further directed to report all persons refusing or neglecting to comply with the order, when steps will be taken for the recovery of the same. This is the most sensible thing Government has done for many years.

MAP OF BRITANNIA SECUNDA.—The map inserted in the last Number of our Journal is intended to serve as a preliminary or sketch-map of a more complete one, which we hope hereafter to furnish for Cambria Romana, or Britannia Secunda. It is proposed that any member of the Association, who will undertake to mark on it any Roman remains, roads, camps, villas, &c., from his own personal knowledge and inspection, and the accuracy of which he will make himself scientifically answerable for, shall have as many copies of this map furnished him by the Association as he may require for the purpose. The Editor will be obliged if members interested in this branch of Welsh antiquities will communicate with him on the subject. By this plan a tolerably complete map may be gradually formed.

## Reniems.

THE ANCIENT CORNISH DRAMA. By EDWIN NORRIS, Esq., Sec. R.A.S. (Fourth Notice.)

There is a portion of this learned work which has a peculiar interest for the Cornish, and, we may say, for the Welsh archæologist—that which is embodied in the Notes of the Second Volume, and refers to the antiquarian topography of places mentioned in the Dramas. They occur in the form of an Appendix, contributed by E. H. Pedler, Esq.; and they show a minute and discriminating spirit of inquiry, such as ought to make the county proud of their author.

The close similarity which shows itself between the languages of Wales and Cornwall exists, as may be presupposed, among the names of places also; and a Welshman wandering through that picturesque

and curious district may almost fancy himself at home when the sound of the local names strikes his ear. Carnsen, Trehembys, Penryn, Pendennis, Bosanneth, &c., &c., all sound quite homely to a Cymro, though he would himself spell them and speak them with a difference.

What is here done by Mr. Pedler on a small scale might well be carried out in detail throughout the whole country; and we wish we could find a similar operation set on foot in all Celtic countries. Britanny, Wales, Scotland and Ireland might furnish matter for several volumes of brief notes on local names in each parish: the border English counties of the Marches, such as Monmouthshire and Herefordshire, &c., might well be included. Members could not do better than take their respective home districts in hand, contributing the results of their researches to the Association, and they would form a most legitimate and interesting body of papers for the Archwologia Cambrensis.

We subjoin some extracts from the notes on Cornwall, which will give a good idea of Mr. Pedler's diligent research.

"Merthyn. This name is found in Cornwall at two or three places, but the one we are in search of readily presents itself. It is the manor of Merthyn in Constantine (a parish which, as already stated, divides Budock from Mawgan), and is on the northern shore of Helford creek. It must have been once a place of some importance, as Leland speaks of its 'manor house then ruinous (circ. A.D. 1540), and well wooded park.' We may infer with some probability, that at the date of these Dramas it was the property of the Carmenows. At all events we find it in their possession in the 20th year of King Edward III., as appears by an entry in the roll of knights' fees, inserted in Carew's History of Cornwall: 'Rogerus de Carminou ten. 20 part. 1 feo. Mort. extra 10 part. illius 20. in Wynnenton, Marthyn et Tamerton.'

"Of this person Tonkin observes: 'Sir Roger de Carmenow, for he was a knight, left this manor (Merthyn), inter alia, to his eldest son and heir, Sir Thomas Carmenow, of Carmenow, knight, who leaving only three daughters his heirs, this manor fell to the share of Philippa, the wife of John Treworthen.' From the latter family it seems to have passed by marriage to the ancient family of Reskymer, in whose possession it was in Leland's time.

"The parish of Constantine, in which Merthyn is situate, as well as its vicinity, possesses some remarkable stone monuments, supposed to have been connected with druidical superstitions. On the tenement of Mên in this parish is a large stone resting on a flat base, but wrought above into a spherical form, giving the appearance, according to Borlase, of a Greek Omega  $(\Omega)$ . It is 11 feet high, and 30 in circumference. On the same tenement there is also a stone of huge dimensions, being 33 feet long, and 14) feet thick near the middle, but tapering towards the extremities, and thus of a somewhat egg-like shape, which is seemingly poised in air, as it rests only on the points of two small rocks, between which there is a sufficient space for persons to creep through, in the observance of certain superstitious rites. Dr. Borlase deems this apparently natural structure to be what is called a tolmen, or hole of stone. In the adjacent parish of Sithney is a pile of rocks, of which the uppermost is stated to have been a logan, or rocking stone, until overturned by the soldiers of Cromwell. It is called Mên amber.

"The peninsula of Pendennis is immediately contiguous to Arwennack, the place coupled with it in the same verse of the play, and to which we will now

"Arwennek. The manor of Arwennack is co-extensive with the parish of Falmouth, and formerly included Pendennis also. It was detached from Budock, and constituted a separate parish by an act of parliament in 1664. The manor possesses some note in Cornish history, as the residence long since of the ancient family of Killigrew or Kelligrew (the Eagle's Grove), originally seated at Kelligrew in St. Earme, from which place they removed to Arwennack as a preferable residence in the reign of Richard II., in consequence of an alliance with the heiress of this property. The family of Killigrew appear as landowners in a record of 20 Edward III., and are said to have descended from a natural son of Richard Earl of Cornwall, and King of the Romans (see Lysons, lxix. and Carew). William Killigrew, Esq., was created a baronet in 1661. The title, with the family, became extinct in 1704, and the estates are now the property of Lord Wodehouse. The town of Falmouth is of modern origin. In the beginning of the seventeenth century a few houses only existed on its site; but under the patronage of the Killigrews, to whom it belonged, this village, then known by the name of Smithick, was enlarged, its trade and opulence rapidly increased, and in a few years it took a position among the principal towns of the county. It was incorparated by the name of 'Falmouth' in 1661 by royal charter, and in 1664, as already mentioned, was made a separate parish.

"Pendennis Castle was for some time held of the crown by the family of Killigrew, at a small rent and fine. John Killigrew, Esq., was appointed the first governor. He built at Arwennack a very costly mansion, and on his death, in 1567, Sir John Killigrew, knight, succeeded him. As lords of Pendennis Castle, the heirs of Killigrew were obliged to keep a pole on the Black Rock to warn mariners of the danger. Some remains of the ancient mansion are said to be still existing, adjacent to the town of Falmouth.'

"Lanerchy. I apprehend this place to be either the same as, or else to be locally connected with, Laner, in the parish of St. Allen. The name occurs in the Domesday survey, and now attaches to several places in Cornwall; but that in St. Allen is most to our purpose. From a very early date it belonged to the Bishops of Exeter, who had a mansion there, and founded the church of St. Allen, which afterwards was conferred by the see on the college of Glazeney at Penryn. In the ordination of this vicarage, A.D. 1314, the bishop includes in his endowment the whole tithe of the park of Lanergh,

'de parco de Lanergh;' and in the same document the church of St. Allen is described to be nigh the park, 'ecclesia Sancti Aluny juxta parcum.' (Oliver's Monast. p. 50.) William of Worcester, A.D. 1478, speaks of the castle of Laner, 'in villa Laner,' as then in ruins.

"Dr. Pryce interprets Lannar and Lanherch as 'a forest or grove, also a lawn, a bare place in a wood;' and adds, 'probably Lannar in St. Allen is named from this last.' He evidently associates the word with the Welsh

Llanerc of similar meaning.

"Lanerchy appears to be the plural of Lanerch or Lanergh.

"It is stated by Lysons that there was a Cornish family of the name of Lenhorgy, whose arms are quartered by Beville, a family which is said to have come to England with the Conquerer, and which was anciently seated at Gwarnike, in the parish of St. Allen."

The concluding Note of this Appendix is well worth reading carefully all through; and, did space permit, we would reprint a great portion of the valuable matter it contains. As it is, however, we are forced to sum up its purport in a few words. Mr. Pedler examines, in much detail, the evidence as to the time and place when and where these Dramas were written and exhibited. For our own part, we think he assigns rather too early a date; but it is probably premature to pronounce an opinion on this point. Judging from the weight and influence of the See of Exeter in and around Penryn in the thirteenth century; from the rise of Penryn to the rank of a town; and from the erection of the collegiate house Glazeney at that period; -considering also that most of the places mentioned in the Dramas lie in this district;—he infers that the author of these Dramas not only resided at Penryn, but that he was an ecclesiastic also. Adverting then to the occurence of certain names of places, Vuthek for Budock, Fehenel for Feoch, Lostuthyel for Lostwithiel, &c., when the former names were superseded about the time of Edward I., and also to the introduction of certain Anglo-French words into the text, Mr. Pedler thinks that the date of these compositions may be assigned to the last quarter of the thirteenth century; and, from these two series of circumstances combined, he conjectures that they were the production of the members of the religious house of Glazeney just mentioned. Mr. Pedler means that they were then composed: the date of the MSS. is a perfectly different question, which Mr. Norris refers, for the earliest of them, to the fifteenth century.

THE ROMANS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE. By the Rev. S. Lysons, M.A. Gloucester: 1860.

This is the title of a Lecture delivered by the Author to a Literary Society in his city, and since printed in the form of a thin octavo volume. It contains many interesting notices of Roman remains in and around that ancient city; and served as a kind of guide book on the occasion of the recent meeting of the Archæological Institute.

Mr. Lysons enters at some length into the question of Pudens and Claudia, connecting the latter with Gloucester; but, after so much has been written on this subject by Archdeacon Williams, and others, all well known to the members of our Association, we do no more than allude to the fact. It is more interesting to us to hear what the author says of the Roman Gloucester; and he says:—

"There can be little doubt any longer as to the site of Roman Gloucester having occupied the exact position which the town now occupies. The discovery of the pavements in the Blue Coat School, Eastgate Street,—supposed to have been the Prætorium, or governor's residence,—at the Spread Eagle, in the Northgate Street, the Ram Hotel and the Crypt School, in the Southgate Street, buildings supposed to have been the residence of the duo legati, —another at the Cross—supposed by Counsel (and with great probability) to have been the site of the Forum,—the remains of a temple in the Westgate Street; and another building in Longsmith Street, most of them flush with the line of the present streets, show that the same arrangement of the town existed then as does now. The walls of Roman Gloucester—for I believe that the walls which surrounded the town when destroyed after the parliamentary wars were the original Roman walls-may be still traced in many parts, sufficiently so to make a tolerably accurate guess at their circuit which I have marked with a dotted line in the Map, which accompanies this Lecture, showing what I believe to have been the position of the ancient walls. I have also dotted down the localities of the Roman antiquities hitherto discovered. The Gates were originally four in number, North, South, East, and West, the streets leading to which still retain their names. At the West Gate was the Porta forinseca, or outermost gate toward the enemy, the Silures, on the spot now called the Foreign Bridge, to which point the Severn doubtless flowed in those days. The City appears to have had no walls where the Severn afforded it sufficient defence.

"Gloucester was, in short, a most important city, and governed by officers of the highest rank in the Imperial Government."

Mr. Lysons has had the merit of proving the existence of a Roman Camp at Hempsted, near Gloucester; and he goes into full details concerning it,—for which we must refer members to the work itself.

He treats the camps and roads of this district in a lucid manner, as may be judged of from the following extracts; and as Gloucester formed one of the main points of the base of Roman military operations with regard to BRITANNIA SECUNDA, they are worthy of attention by Cambrian archæologists:—

"Immediately on Claudius gaining a footing in this country, he set about the formation of grand military roads, for the purpose of conveying his troops and baggage, and he built a chain of fortresses along the line of the brow of the Cotteswold hills, overhanging the Vale of the Severn. He committed these works to the care of Ostorius Scapula, the proprætor, Aulus Plautius' colleague and successor in the government. These forts were particularly designed to act as a check upon the Silures, whose country extended up to the western side of the Severn, embracing that part of our County now known as the Forest Division. These Silures were among the most determined and boldest enemies the Romans met with in Britain, and gave them a vast deal of trouble. The Severn was the boundary between the Dobuni and the Silures, as also between the two great divisions which the Romans afterwards made of the southern parts of Britain into Britannia Prima, and Britannia Secunda; the former extending up to the left bank of the river, and including the Cotteswold hills and Vale of Severn, the latter commencing on the right bank and

embracing the Forest of Dean. The military roads which passed through this County were the Ickneild Street, the Ermine Street, the Foss Way, the Ackman Street; another road leading from Lincoln, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire, and probably the Salt Way, or Via Salaria, and uninor one, Via Julia, from Bath to the Severn: street being called in British, Ystraed, and in Latin, Strata, from the roads being pitched or paved with stones. Livy

speaks of Viæ Stratæ.

"The roads were distinguished in different ways, as Viæ Consulares, Viæ Regia, Via Pratoria, and Via Militares. It is probable, however, that these roads were originally British roads, and only adopted and improved by the Romans. Higden attributes the quature Viæ Regales to Belinus, the British King: viz.—the Foss, from south to north, through Bath, Cirencester, and Cotteswold to Scotland; the Watling Street, from Dover to Wales; the Beling Street, from St. David's to Southampton; and the Ickneild Street, from St. David's to Tynemonth, Northumberland. The Ickneild Street, or Via Icenica, led from the Iceni, who inhabited the present county of Norfolk, to Wales, entering Gloucestershire near Eastleach, passing through Corinium, also called Durocornovium, or Cirencester, one of the earliest Roman towns in this County, and the capital of the Cotteswolds, and crossing the Severn at Aust (the trajectus Augusti) to Isca, or Caerleon, in Monmouthshire. The Ermine Street led from London, through Cirencester, to Gloucester, and so on to the territory of the Silures. Another Roman road appears from Gale, in Hearne's edition of Leland's Itinerary, to have come from Lincoln, and passing through Warwickshire and Worcestershire entered the County at Astonunder-edge, and so by Beekford, Ashchurch, and Tewkesbury, formed a cross with the Ermine Street in the centre of the town of Gloucester, still known by the name of the Cross. The Foss Way, Via Fossata, extended from the Humber, in Yorkshire, to Isca Dumnoniorum, or Exeter, and perhaps further; it entered the County at the north, passed by Stow-on-the-Wold, Northleach, Foss Bridge, to Circncester, where it was met by the Ackman Street, which led to Aquæ Sulis, or Bath.

I don't hesitate to place among the Roman roads of this County, the Via Salaria, or Salt Way, as the road is still commonly called, which enters the County near Lechlade, passes through the parishes of Quenington, Coln St. Aldwins, Coln St. Dennis, crosses the Foss Road between Northleach and Foss Bridge, and proceeds probably to Gloucester. It has every characteristic of a Roman road, and though I don't find it mentioned in any author, I have myself explored a barrow, or tumulus, in the parish of Coln St. Dennis, through which the road runs, and have picked up coins in its immediate vicinity, especially a very beautiful one of silver, of Julia Domna, the wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus. We know from Pliny that the Romans had their Vice Salarice for conveying their salt, and it is singular that this road

should have so long escaped the notice of antiquaries.

"The chain of forts which overhung the Vale of Gloucester stood on Bredon Hill, Cleeve, Leckhampton, Crickley, Churchdown or Chosen, Painswick, Haresfield or Broadridge Green, Standish, Selsley, Frocester, Uley Berry, Stinchcombe, Dyrham, Little Sodbury, Tortworth, and Clifton Downs; situations which, before the invention of gunpowder, were capable of being defended with great success. They were doubtless the scenes of many a bloody conflict, and there are evidences of their having been taken and retaken by the different conquerors of this island—Romans, Saxons, and Danes in their turn."

The book is illustrated with a good map, plans, &c., and is highly creditable to the local press of Gloucester.

# Cambrian Archaeological Association.

# FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING, BANGOR, AUGUST 27TH TO SEPTEMBER 18T, 1860.

President, CHARLES G. WYNNE, Esq., M.P.

### Treal Committee.

Colonel the Hon. Edward Gordon Douglas-Pennant, M.P., Chairman. Sir Richard Bulkeley Williams Bulkeley, Bart, M.P., Vice-Chairman.

The Lord Bishop of Bangor The Right Hon. the Lord Boston The Hon. Wm. Owen Stanley, M.P. The Very Rev. the Dean of Bangor The Mayor of Caernaryon George Richard Griffith, Esq., Pencraig, High Sheriff of Anglesey John Williams, Esq., Treffos Davies, Robert, Esq., Bodlondeb Dodson, A. J., Esq., Garth Evans, the Rev. Daniel, Bangor Griffith, R. Trygarn, Esq., Carreglwyd Griffith, R. M., Esq., Bangor Gubbins, J. P., Esq., Glyn-y-Garth Hill, the Rev. R. H., D.C.L., Beaumaris Hughes, H. R., Esq., Bangor Hughes, J. W., Esq., Bangor Jones, the Rev. H., D.D., F.S.A., V.P., Beaumaris

Jones, Robt., Esq., M.D., Caernarvon Jones, the Rev. J. Wynne, Heneglwys Jones-Parry, T. L. D., Esq., Madryn Mealy, the Rev. R. R. Parry, Beaumaris Owen, the Rev. Henry, Llangefni Pritchard, Wm., Esq., Tanycoed Priestly, J., Esq., Hirdrefaig Pughe, the Rev. Evan, Bangor Purvis, the Rev. J., Bangor Roberts, H. B., Esq., Bangor Richards, John, Esq., Bangor Slater, the Rev. Leonard, Belmont Turner, Thomas, Esq., Caernarvon Totton, the Rev. W. C., Friars, Bangor Williams, J. Vincent H., Esq., Bangor Williams, John, Esq., Beaumaris Williams, the Rev. M., Llanrhyddlad Williams, W., Esq., M.D., Caernarvon Wyatt, A., Esq., Tanybryn, Bangor Vincent, the Rev. C., Llanfairfechan

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T. Love D. Jones-Parry, Esq. Rev. W. Wynn Williams, Junr. Henry Kennedy, Esq.

### Enrature of Maseum.

Rev. Leonard Slater. Mr. Henry Bellars.

ARCH. CAMB., THIRD SERIES, VOL. VI.

### MONDAY, AUGUST 27TH.

The General Committee met soon after 7 o'clock in the National Schoolrooms, which had been kindly placed at the disposal of the Association during
the week by the Vicars of Bangor. The usual preliminary business having
been gone through, and the Report submitted to the Committee and approved
of, the Meeting of the Association was opened by the Very Reverend the
Dean of Bangor, who, on the proposal of Mr. Babington, took the chair in the
absence of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, President for the past year. The
Dean of Bangor, after regretting the absence of the Right Reverend Prelate,
and welcoming the Members to Bangor, proposed that Mr. Wynne should
assume the chair.

The President then delivered the following address, which on its conclusion was received with marks of decided approbation:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—When the request was made to me that I should occupy the presiding chair at the present Meeting, my first impulse was to decline the proffered honour. I felt that I had no such knowledge of the subject of archeology as could entitle me to speak upon it in the presence of those who have made it their study, and that the post would have been better filled by some one possessing that special acquaintance with it to which I have no pretension. On further consideration, however, I was led to believe that those from whom the proposal emanated took a somewhat different view of the duties devolving on the President, and that what was expected of me in their discharge was rather that I should—speaking both on behalf of this county in which I reside, and the town of Bangor, with which I have the honour to be connected in a public capacity-welcome the Association on their arrival, and express our hope that they may derive pleasure and satisfaction from their visit, and from the inspection of those objects of archæological interest to which their attention will be directed. It may seem almost superfluous, in addressing a meeting of archæologists, to dwell upon the use and advantages of such meetings as the present, or upon the general province and objects of the science itself; but so much misconception has existed, and still exists, with regard to both points, that I believe it may be of some service to attempt to place these in a clearer light, and to vindicate them from the charge so often made, of being devoid of practical utility; after which I shall offer a few remarks upon the objects within this district to which your attention will be invited-remarks necessarily of the most general and superficial character, such as alone can be offered by one whose knowledge of the subject is limited to an appreciation of its general character and objects, and of its value as an auxiliary to more comprehensive studies. First, then, let me say what archæology is not. It is not a barren dilettanteism, consisting merely in the collection of quaint and unmeaning relics, valued by the possessor not for the instruction to be drawn from them, but in the mere spirit of a collector, and the interest attaching to which begins in, and ends with, their acquisition. Archæology is something more than this. In its widest sense it may be defined as the scientific investigation and study of the material records and relics of past generations. It has been called "The Handmaid of

History." They differ in this, that history is the more comprehensive term. It is the province of archæology to supply a part of the materials—a part only, but still an essential and indispensable part—of the materials with which the historian has to deal. It stands to history in the relation of the subordinate to the architectonic or master science. Just as-to borrow an illustration from physical science—the geologist founds upon a patient and minute investigation of the surface of the globe that knowledge of its past history and condition which is the object of his pursuit; so must the historian avail himself, if he would present a true picture of the past, or arrive at a right understanding of the present, of the labours of the archæologian, and of the light which they throw upon his subject. This view has obtained a readier recognition of late, since truer views have prevailed as to the mode in which history should be written. Formerly it was too much the practice of historians to confine their inquiries to the wars of a nation—to its diplomacy and international relations—its commerce and its domestic legislation—which latter they studied rather as politicians than historians, and rather in party struggles, and changes of dynasties or ministries, than in the statute-book and code of the national laws. But every nation has really a two-fold life - an outer and an inner-and these outward manifestations are but the development of that inner life from which they spring, and which we must study if we wish to interpret them truly. It is this inner life, with all the details of which it is made up, which is the peculiar province of archæology. The social condition of a people—their intercourse between man and man—their architecture—their art—their literature—the minutest details of their domestic life\_their food\_their dress\_their arms\_their coinage\_their industry, —all these history incorporates in herself, and a brighter light is thus thrown upon her pages, and a fuller and truer conception gained of the forms of thought and feeling, of the motives and secret springs of action, which compose the great drama of history—the progress of the human mind. Perhaps it would be impossible to give a better illustration of the value of archæological knowledge to the historian than by referring to the celebrated chapter in Dr. Macaulay's History on the Social Condition of England in the Seventeenth Century, and the use he has there made of materials which had been neglected by others as beneath the dignity of history. I might mention, as another instance of the kind, Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe. Sir Walter Scott would have been eminent as an antiquary if he had never written a line upon any other subject; and it is hardly going too far to say that no history has ever given so full, so graphic, and so true a picture of the state of English society, in the century after the Norman conquest, as is contained in that work of fiction. The highest testimony to its value was the remark of Thierry, the accomplished historian of the Norman conquest, who is said to have declared that the perusal of Ivanhoe was to him like a revelation. Nor is it only in supplying material that archæology subserves the end of history. It may claim to be heard as an independent witness, and sometimes to correct its errors. The examination of original documents, letters, and state papers which have been preserved to us, is an important branch of archeological

research. Such documents may be said, in one sense, to be the truest and most reliable history, insomuch as they are free from that colouring which is often given by the prejudices or ignorance of narrators to the events which they profess to relate. It was a remark of Porson's that an Athenian newspaper, if such a thing were to be discovered, would give us a truer notion of the life of the old citizens of Athens than all that scholars have written on the subject; whilst in our own time a striking instance of the value of such materials is afforded in Mr. Foster's recent account of the attempted seizure of the members by Charles I., a work compiled from original letters and other documents in the State Paper Office, and which has rescued a very important passage in our history from the misrepresentations of Lord Clarendon. Other instances might be given of important contributions to historical knowledge which are due to archeology. A staff of antiquaries were attached, amongst other savans, to Napoleon's staff during his Egyptian expedition, and to them we owe the discovery of the Rosetta stone, that key to the language of ancient Egypt which first opened to us the historical records with which all the monuments of that country abound. In our own time the labours of Colonel Rawlinson have succeeded in unlocking another ancient language which had been dead for more than 2000 years without apparent prospect of revival. I believe that a parallel discovery has been lately made by this Society in the discovery of a monument in South Wales, in the Abbey of St. Dogmael, bearing a Latin and Ogham inscription which will supply the means of deciphering the latter character. And the discoveries of Mr. Layard, at Nineveh, have given us both an intimate knowledge of the manners and customs of the ancient Assyrians, and a very valuable confirmation of the truth of Scripture history. The record of history-particularly that which extends to the remoter periods -is often vague, uncertain, and sometimes disputed. It dates before the art of printing existed, and the mistakes of transcribers were a fertile source of error. The researches of antiquaries have, in many instances, from the exhumation of a mound, or the inscription on a stone, found a clue to some ambiguous passage of history, or unintelligible tradition; whilst in Wales, where the vernacular is different from the language of English history, the study of local antiquities and traditions is peculiarly valuable. I may mention, on the authority of the Archaeologia Cambrensis, in whose pages an account of it was given, an interesting corroboration of the old romance about the burial of Bronwen on the banks of Alaw, in a cistfaen, in Mona, which was confirmed by the discovery, in the year 1813, of a carnedd, with its cell, vase, and bones, on a spot still known as Ynys Bronwen, and corresponding exactly to that indicated in the old tradition. If from history we turn to architecture, we have only to point to the great architectural revival which has taken place within the last thirty or forty years, and which is the direct result of that intelligent and systematic study of the older architectural monuments, both in this country and on the continent, which it is the object of such meetings as the present to promote, and which has been encouraged by the periodical congresses of the different archeological societies. The

British Association began its labours in 1830; the two archeological societies in 1844; and, amongst other important works which they have effected, are the restoration of the cathedrals of Durham and Ely, of Redcliffe Church at Bristol, with many others; and, generally, the great impulse which has been given to the study and preservation of ancient models, by their meetings, in which men of learning, judgment, and experience, who have made the different branches of archæology their study, are brought together, and observations elicited, doubtful points discussed, and all enabled and invited to offer on the spot their several opinions, in sight of the objects under review, an advantage which has been forcibly expressed in a remark attributed to the present Archbishop of Dublin, that an hour's conversation in the Forum would do more to clear a man's views of Roman history than years of study. Of the service rendered to art by archeology, the instances are without number. The only difficulty is that of selecting from them. The influence of the Elgin Marbles upon our sculpture and painting is well known, as well as of those forms of art which come within the province of the antiquary, such as coins, medals, and other relics of Greek and mediæval art. And here I wish to address an argument to the utilitarian school, and shall endeavour to show that archeology, far from being a mere unprofitable dilettanteism, has a positive money value—one appreciable not only by the literary or scientific mind, but even to those who look exclusively to material interests—that commerce, in a word, no less than history, or art, is under obligations to archeology. I allude to the case of our pottery and earthenware manufacture, which is now an important branch of our national trade. At the time when Wedgwood first began his operations, England was an importing country with regard to this article of trade, drawing her supplies from the continent, from Holland, from France, and from Germany. About the year 1760 Wedgwood established himself in Staffordshire. The models which he selected for imitation were all taken from the antique, from the Portland Vase, Greek vases, cameos, and old coins; but above all from the magnificent collection of Etruscan vases and earthenware, which were purchased from Sir William Hamilton for the British Museum. Such was the immediate improvement in classical elegance and purity of design which the manufacture derived from these sources, that within a very few years England became an exporting country in this article, and the trade in it steadily developed since, until in the year 1857 the declared value of the earthenware exported from the United Kingdom was £1,488,668. Wedgwood's own sense of the obligation under which he was to his imitation of his ancient models was marked by the name he gave to the new village, formed round his works in Staffordshire, which he called Etruria in honour of them. More recently still, the collection of Etruscan antiquities made by Prince Canino, and brought to England by Signor Campanari, has marked another stage in the progress of this branch of industry; and it is a fact that, at this moment, the best silversmiths and jewellers in London resort constantly to the British Museum to study these models, and copy them for reproduction. The well known Minton ware, to which belong the most beautiful specimens of fictile art in the present

day, are either copied from, or due to the study and imitation of, the Majolica ware of mediæval Italy; whilst the smaller objects of Assyrian art, brought from Nineveh by Mr. Layard, are extensively copied by artists, and reductions of them made, on a smaller scale, in Parian, in marble, or in bronze. But archeology is valuable also for its suggestions, for the assistance given by it to the imagination, in realizing the past events associated with material objects. The spot selected for this year's Meeting, and the district to be visited, are rich both in natural beauties and in associations, with ancient lore and historic occurrences of the Celtic, Roman, and mediæval periods. A few passing allusions to some of these are all that either the limits of an address, or my own very slight acquaintance with the subject, permit me to attempt. Here, in the immediate vicinity of Snowdon, on the banks of the Menai, and of "Mona, the mother of Wales," (as it is called by old writers,) we are surrounded by objects interesting to the historian, and to the antiquary. Unfortunately the interests and scenes of our national annals are those connected with the worst passions of our nature, and exhibit the familiarity of our ancestors with deeds of rapine and bloodshed rather than with the arts of peace. They contain no records of commercial enterprize; they do not tell us what commodities were sold or bartered; what harbours were noted for the peaceful occupations of trade; or what chiefs were famed for the sciences and pursuits which elevate and advance humanity. Our attention is confined, except when drawn to our ancient ecclesiastical edifices, to castles, forts, earthworks for defence, or defiance; scenes of conflict with invaders, Roman, Saxon, Norman, and quite as frequently between the natives themselves. These furnish well nigh the whole materials of Welsh history. Archeology helps us to realize, with the fullest force of contrast, the different state of society which prevailed in those barbarous and lawless ages, from that under which we have the happiness to live. Archæology, as a means of discovering, elucidating, and preserving ancient objects and implements of arts, commerce or manufactures, furnishes ocular demonstration of the gradual progress of nations, and the instruments by which it was effected. Things are great or small-good, bad, or indifferent-by comparison with other times and objects. The stone huts, which abound among the wastes of these parts, give us the measure of domestic accommodation enjoyed by our remote ancestors; we get a glimpse even of their "cuisine" in the bones and shellfish which are found in them. It is by the light of archæology that we are enabled to measure the gulf which separates the rude canoe of excavated oak from the prodigy of modern shipbuilding which lately visited our coast. Through its aid the mind may revert to the coracles in which Hu Gadarn brought the Cymry to Britain, and may contrast with those frail barques the Channel Fleet, which lately anchored at Holyhead. By reflecting upon the rude ferry boats which, even within living memory, were the only conveyance across the Menai, we can estimate the impulse given to commerce, and to intercourse, by the suspension and tubular bridges. We may look across the Straits, and imagine Pierce Griffith, the Lord of Penrhyn, fitting out his ship at Beaumaris, at his own cost, and sailing with his crew of volunteers, to resist the Spanish Armada; and from him and his companions our thoughts may return to the great volunteer movement of the present day, and the gallant regiments now marshalling in Bangor, and other towns, who, I have no doubt, would give as good an account of any other invader who might assail our shores, as their ancestors did of the Spanish Armada. Standing upon the ruined tower of Dolbadarn, the antiquary may picture to himself the unhappy prince who was imprisoned there by his brother Llewelyn, leaning against the same battlement, and gazing upon the opposite hill, where then a few browzing goats and sheep alone disturbed the solitude, but whose slopes now echo with the rattle of rubbish, shot down into the lake, the puffing of the locomotive, and teem with all the signs of peaceful industry. The traces of primitive or British occupation of this portion of Venedotia (Gwynedd) are abundantly observable in the ruins of old walls, of huts and cairns upon our mountains and moors, in numerous earth intrenchments, and in traces of former cultivation upon hills and elevated side lands now abandoned to furze or heath. The neighbourhood of Penmaenmawr will exhibit these furrows and indications of past industry. The hills around are covered with old forts and dwelling-huts. The whole district of Snowdon was, in fact, one fortress-always resorted to as a bulwark against aggression, often assailed and penetrated, but never occupied till Edward I. Its boundaries were the Conway on the north, and Traethmawr on the south, which the Welsh crossed when hard pressed, fortifying the defiles and castles along the frontiers, with watch-towers interspersed. Besides the large castles, we find most of the hills and eminences fortified, under the various names of moel, dinas, castell, caer, crug, and tommen. The latter were the sites probably of wooden towers or stockades, analagous to the New Zealand "pah," which, even with artillery, our troops have found it hard to penetrate. The camp upon Penmaen is mentioned by Camden, as being, according to tradition, "the strongest place of defence that the Ancient Britons had in all Snowdon. Moreover," he adds, "the greatness of the work shows that it was a princely fortification, strengthened by nature and workmanship." Sir Lytton Bulwer, in his novel of Harold, gives a most accurate description of it, and makes it the scene of the death of Griffith ap Llewelyn, who was slain there, while resisting Harold's invasion of Snowdon, by his own subjects. On the summit of the Rivals, beyond Clynnog, however, is another example, perhaps the best that exists, of a British fortress. Its remote situation, and the difficulty of access to it, have preserved it in a more unaltered state than any other which I have seen. We have the treble wall of vast strength, with traces of towers at intervals; the entrance gateways, one of them still surmounted by its huge lintel stone; and, within the inclosure, in great numbers, the most perfect specimens extant of the small circular buildings, whose nature has been disputed, but which there seems no reason to doubt were habitations, after the usual fashion of British houses, for the inmates or garrison of the inclosure. For we learn from Strabo that "the houses of the Britons were round, with a high pointed covering." Cæsar tells us that they were only lighted by the door. And on the Antonine column they are represented as circular, with an

arched entrance. Comparing these accounts with the walls which still remain, we may be tolerably certain that they were conical tent-shaped buildings, with walls of stone, roofed in with boughs, reeds, fern, or sods, without other aperture than the doorway. Immediately behind this fortress lies the secluded and almost inaccessible little valley, Nant Gwytherin, where Vortigern ended his days ingloriously. On Carn Bodnan and Carn Madryn are other interesting British remains, and I may here express my regret, with regard to that district of this county, that the intervening distance which compelled its exclusion from our programme, has deprived both myself and many other gentlemen who reside there, of the opportunity of showing hospitality to those who might otherwise have been enabled to visit it on this occasion. Of the Roman period the traces are less abundant than of the British. The sites remain—in many cases the names—and relics of domestic architecture continue from time to time to be brought to light. But Norman castles have arisen upon these sites, which sometimes, as in the case of Caernarvon, and of Diganwy, near Conway, were constructed out of the materials of the Roman fort which occupied them. But perhaps the most striking remains of the Roman period-the best evidence of the scale upon which her conquests were conducted, and of the means by which they were maintained is to be found in their great military roads. They had all this remarkable feature, that they radiated from some central point, instead of being constructed without general plan or policy; and it is a curious proof of the forecast and sagacity with which they were planned, that at this day the principal trunk lines of railway throughout the kingdom, north, south, east and west, coincide very nearly with the ancient Roman roads in those several directions :-

The old Walling Street, following nearly the course of the London and North Western, ran from Chester to Dover, then the chief post of communication with the continent.

Ermine Street nearly represents that of the Great Northern.

Port Way. The Great Western from London to Exeter.

Stone Street—The London and Brighton.

In this district within which we are now assembled, we still find, in a very perfect state of preservation, portions of the old Roman road of communication between Chester and Segontium. From Chester it ran to the Roman station of Varæ, now Caerwys, past Bodfari, the private residence or villa of the Roman General Varus; whether Caerwys, the modern name of the camp, can be derived from Caer Varus, is a question which I must leave to Welsh etymologians. From thence the road crossed the Conway at the Roman station of Conovium, now Caerhun, and from thence by Bwlch-y-ddaufen, and behind Penmaen, down to Aber, whence it followed the line of the seacoast. Remote and unproductive as this part of Britain must have been, the Romans seem to have thought it worth holding in considerable force, owing, no doubt, to the command which it gave them of the Irish Channel, and also probably for the sake of its mineral treasures—its silver, lead, iron, and copper mines, which were well known to, and worked by them. Besides

Caernarvon and Caerhun, they had a station at Holyhead, and several minor forts, with military stations on their lines of communication. It does not appear that Ostorius, after overthrowing Caractacus on the frontiers of Gwynedd, penetrated further, but Paulinus (A.D. 60) a few years later made his memorable inroad into Anglesey, of which the well-known passage in Tacitus gives so vivid a picture. He threw his troops across just under Llanidan, where they crossed partly in boats, partly by swimming, the infantry holding on by the horsemen. Of the Norman dynasty nearly every reign was signalised by a Welsh invasion. William Rufus, Henry I., Henry II., and Henry III., all attacked it, and were all unsuccessful. The defeat of Henry II., by the famous Owen Gwynedd, is commemorated in the well-known ode of Gray. Of Henry the Third's invasion an interesting record is preserved in a letter written from the royal camp at Diganwy, by a nobleman to his friends in England, in which he describes the hardships they were enduring, and their mortification at seeing a vessel from Ireland, laden with wine, run aground in the river, and fall into the hands of the Welsh. The defiles of Snowdon were the scene of the final struggles of the Welsh Princes for liberty and independence. It had been their hunting ground, and they appear to have carried their courts about with them in their hunting circuits, whence the numerous places which still retain the name of Llys (Court). Llewelyn had a seat at Aber, another at Nantlle Lakes, Llanllyfni, where Edward after the conquest held a fair, and subsequently a tournament, at Morfa Nevin, which was attended by the chivalry of England. In some of the morasses of Snowdon, above Aber, after Llewelyn's death, and the fall of Dolbadarn, his last stronghold, his brother David wandered with his wife and family in their extremity. The unfortunate prince was taken to London and executed there. But the fate and captivity of the two gallant brothers have been commemorated by their countrymen, who devoted the two adjacent peaks of Snowdon as a carnedd or memorial stone to each, and they bear to this day the names of Carnedd Davyd, and Carnedd Llewelyn; it was at Aber, too, that the last Llewelyn, after his hollow compromise with Edward, forgot his former renown in domestic life with Eleanor de Montfort. And at Aber also resided his grandfather, Llewelyn the Great, with his wife Joan, the natural daughter of King John; whose so-called sarcophagus, after being degraded to a cattle trough, has been preserved in the grounds of Baron Hill. After the conquest, these parts witnessed several insurrections before their final incorporation with the realm of England. Madoc, son of the last Llewelyn, took Caernarvon, and brought Edward again into Wales to quell the revolt. Owen Glyndwr ravaged this district in his rebellion against Henry IV., and tried in vain to seize Caernarvon. There is a tradition that a certain Dean of Bangor (called the Black Dean) received Owen Glyndwr, young Percy, and Mortimer, in his house at Aberdovey, where a scheme was broached to divide the kingdom between them. In the civil wars Caernarvon yielded to General Mytton, and he, in turn, was besieged there by Sir John Owen, of Eifionydd, who, hearing that Colonel Carter was on his way to relieve the place, went to meet him, and a battle was fought near Llandegai, where Sir John was taken

prisoner, and North Wales submitted to the Parliamentary forces. mention, in connection with Caernarvon, a proverb recorded by Sir John Wynn, which speaks of "the lawyers of Caernarvon, (this being the seat of the law courts in North Wales), the merchants of Beaumaris, and the gentlemen of Couway." Speaking here in Bangor, some mention must be made of the cathedral, though the details of it, both architectural and historical, will be fully discussed on Thursday, and explained to us. The first bishop was appointed to the see about 550. King Edgar, when he invaded North Wales in 970, confirmed its privileges. King John forced the bishop from the altar, and obliged him to pay two hundred falcons for his ransom. Formerly the episcopal manor of Gogarth (Orme's Head) was renowned for its falcons. The great minister Burleigh (Pennant tells us) writes to thank the ancestor of Sir Thomas Mostyn for a cast of hawks from Llandudno. The cathedral was destroyed in 1071, and again by Owen Glyndwr in 1402, because its then bishop sided with the English. The present edifice mostly dates from 1532. I cannot quit the subject of the cathedral without mentioning as a subject of congratulation to all who are interested in this county and diocese, the fact that the bishop who now presides over it is the first for 145 years, one who is able to read, to preach, and above all, to exhort in a colloquial manner, in "a tongue understanded of the people." Through these brief and disjointed notices of the chief incidents of Welsh history, connected with the district in which we are assembled, we have now reached the epoch which terminated the separate political existence of Wales, by the enactment of the famous "Statutes of Rhuddlan," framed by Edward I. in 1284. The succeeding period is one less interesting to the archeologist than to the politician or jurisconsult; and it is from them we must seek an answer to the question which cannot fail to suggest itself, whether the complete incorporation of Wales with the English realm has been attended with all the advantages which she was entitled to derive from it. It was the remark of a well known Welsh scholar and antiquary, Vaughan, of Hengwrt, after reflecting upon the scenes of strife and discord with which our annals abound,-"We have been conquered to our gain, and undone to our great advantage." But however fully he may acquiesce in this soliloquy, a further moral will be drawn by the thoughtful student of Welsh history, even if he should come to the conclusion that, upon the whole, Wales has enjoyed a higher degree of prosperity and civilization under the English crown than she could have attained as an independent nation under a line of native princes. He will recognize the practical truth, that, in legislating for her local requirements, account must be taken of those national modes of thought and feeling which have been the growth of centuries; and that a wise statesmanship will never ignore or disregard, but will seek rather to understand and to respect, those features in the character of her people which give to it an individuality no less marked and distinctive than that which has been stamped by the hand of nature upon the land they inhabit.

The President then called on Mr. Barnwell to read the Report of the preceding year, from which it will be seen that the progress of the Society still continues to be encouraging.

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 1859-60.

"The Committee have on the present, as on many former occasions, the satisfaction of congratulating the Members on the continued success and prosperity of the Cambrian Archeological Association, which now, after an interval of twelve years, meets for the second time in this county. Since the Caernarvon Meeting, in 1848, the Association has visited every county in the Northern and Southern parts of the Principality, and as regards the former, it now commences its second series of Annual Meetings, which the Committee hope may be as productive of good results as the first series.

"During this period no little has been effected in illustrating the monumental history of Wales; in preserving from neglect or destruction some of its most important and interesting remains; and lastly, as may perhaps be inferred from the gradually increasing numbers of the Members, in encouraging a

spirit of inquiry and observation.

"Successful, however, as the Society may be considered in these and other respects, yet the Committee regret that this success, such as it is, cannot be attributed to the active and cordial support hitherto received from the three counties of Caernarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth—which three counties, taken together, do not contribute, according to the last printed returns, more Members than the single county of Flint. Nor is this circumstance rendered less remarkable by the fact, that it was in this very locality that the first movements on the part of one or two gentlemen were made, which subsequently led to the establishment of the Association.

"The Committee, however, venture to express a hope that the present Meeting, held under such favourable auspices, will tend to make, not merely the existence, but the operations, of the Association better known, and more substantially appreciated, by the educated classes, than has hitherto been the case.

"The Members are aware that in the early part of the last year the French Government dissolved the Breton Association, one division of which was actively engaged in illustrating the antiquities of that interesting country, and was in constant correspondence with this Association. The Committee regret to state that at present there appears little prospect of the Society being allowed to be re-established. It is, however, with much satisfaction that communications are still received from some of the most distinguished Members of the late Society, who take a warm interest in the welfare of this Association.

"Proposals have also been lately made to establish more intimate relations with the antiquaries of Cornwall than have hitherto existed, so that this county may be brought more under the action of the Association. If this course is adopted, and if the Breton element should continue to be still further developed, it may become a matter of consideration how far it may be desirable to modify the title of the Association, so as to embrace those two other important divisions of the Celtic family, so intimately connected with ourselves.

"Such of the Members as were present at the Cardigan Meeting last year will not have forgotten the pleasure they then enjoyed, the unbounded hospitality with which they were received by the gentlemen of that county, or the manner in which the Right Reverend President discharged the duties of the Chair. It will also be remembered that the Rev. H. Vincent, of St. Dogmael's, kindly consented to place the remarkable, and your Committee would add, invaluable, Ogham stone, called the Sagranus Stone, within the vestry of the church, which was considered as the most eligible situation as regards its future safety. Circumstances appear to have prevented that gentleman from carrying out his intentions. The Committee, therefore, would suggest that the Association should renew their application to Mr. Vincent on the subject. They would propose also that a brass plate should be inserted in the wall of the vestry, recording what is known of the history of the stone.

"The Committee regret that notices of the excavations going on at Wroxeter have not appeared in the last two Numbers of the Journal. Several of the Members having subscribed considerable sums towards a special fund, to be devoted to the illustration of these discoveries, in case the Committee are not able to carry out their intentions, it may probably be thought proper that the sums received should be returned to the donors, and the amount hitherto expended be repaid by the Association.

"A delay also has occurred in bringing out the small volume announced at the last Meeting, the intention of which was to give outlines of the leading features of each class of Welsh antiquities—the various portions to be written by Members of the Association—being general notices of the primæval and Roman remains, and of the military and ecclesiastical architecture of Wales. Circumstances over which the Committee have no control have delayed the intended issue; but it is confidently expected that the volume will be in the hands of the public previous to the next Meeting.

"A Supplemental Number is in the press, and will be shortly issued to Members.

"Several important questions will be submitted to the Members in the course of this Meeting, one of which will be a proposition as to the desirability of commencing a reserve fund, to which annual additions, according to circumstances, may be made.

"Within the past year death has deprived the Association of several of its oldest and most valuable friends, among whom may be justly reckoned the Rev. J. M. Traherne, who has not only been a warm supporter of the Society since its first establishment, but soon after the Meeting at Welshpool exerted himself so effectually as to add very largely to the Members.

"The Society has to regret also the decease of Mr. Joseph Morris, of Shrewsbury, no less distinguished for his accurate and extensive knowledge of Welsh genealogy, than for the kindness and courtesy with which he was always ready to assist inquirers; and also that of the Rev. John Parker, of Llany-blodwell, whose valuable and accurate architectural drawings were always at the service of the Association.

"The Committee recommend the following Members to be elected Vice-Presidents:—The Very Reverend the Dean of Bangor; the Very Reverend the Dean of St. Asaph; Colonel the Hon. Douglas-Pennant, M.P.; Sir Richard Williams Bulkeley, Bart., M.P.

"They would also recommend that M. Francisque Michel, F.S.A., London, Edinburgh, Normandy, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Professor of Foreign Literature in the University of Bordeaux, to whom the Association is much indebted for editing the Supplemental Volume, be added to the list of Honorary Members.

"The retiring Members of the Committee are,—J. O. Westwood, Esq., the Rev. John Jones, Llanllyfni, and the Rev. E. Earle. A vacancy also has been occasioned by the death of Thomas Turnor, Esq.; and the Committee recommend for election the Rev. R. R. Parry Mealy, G. T. Clark, Esq., John Stuart, Esq., and J. O. Westwood, Esq.

"The Rev. Trevor Owen, of Llangollen, has been nominated a Local Secretary for Denbighshire.

"The amount at present in the Treasurer's hands is £172 8s.; and the number of copies of the Journal issued in July was 323.

"The following new Members have joined the Association since the last Report: In North Wales, Colonel the Hon. Douglas-Pennant, Penrhyn Castle; S. D. Darbishire, Esq., Pendyffryn, Conwy; the Rev. E. Evans, Machynlleth; R. Trygarn Griffiths, Esq., Carreglwyd, Holyhead; R. M. Griffiths, Esq., Bangor; the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, Beaumaris; Major O. T. Nanney, Gwynfryn Hall, Pwllheli; the Rev. Trevor Owen, Llangollen; Thos. Winter, Esq., Minigarth, Anglesey; Miss Wynne, Voelas Hall, Denbighshire. In South Wales, ... James B. Bowen, Esq., Llwyn-gwair, Newport, Pembrokeshire; David Davies, Esq., Castle Green, Cardigan; the Rev. D. J. Evans, Llandygwydd, Cardigan; the Rev. David Evans, Cilgerran, Pembrokeshire; Edward Jones, Esq., Velindre, Llandovery; Robert Jones, Esq., Fonmon Castle, Cardiff; Rev. R. J. Lloyd, Troed yr aur Rectory, Newcastle-Emlyn; Lloyd Phillips, Esq., Pentre Park, Haverfordwest; Captain Prichard, Tyllwyd, Newcastle-Emlyn; Rev. J. Tombs, Burton, Haverfordwest; Gwinett Tyler, Esq., Mount Gernos, Newcastle-Emlyn. In England, \_\_Mrs. Lawes, Upton House, Poole, Dorsetshire; Rev. R. W. Miles, Bingham Rectory, Nottingham; Edwin Norris, Esq., Michael's Grove, Brompton; Rev. Philip Williams, Reave Rectory, Exeter."

On the proposal of Mr. Babington, the Report was ordered to be adopted and printed.

Mr. G. T. Clark, at the request of the President, proceeded to read a paper on "The Military Architecture of Wales," which appears in the present Number, and is intended to form a section of the contemplated publication of the Association, illustrative of the general character of Welsh antiquities from the earliest periods.

The Meeting was then concluded by the President's giving notice of the excursion of the next day.

### TUESDAY, AUGUST 28TH.

The excursionists started in considerable force soon after the appointed time, and after enjoying the extremely beautiful and picturesque views of the Menai Straits, alongside of which the road runs, made their first halt at Bryn Britain, Beaumaris, an earthwork in the form of a somewhat irregular quadrilateral. Little of the exterior defences remain except on two sides, protected by a deep ditch. The ditch on the other sides could not be made out, owing to subsequent alterations of the ground. In the Ordnance map it is called Bryn Britain; but, excepting this distinctive epithet, there is nothing particular British about it. As the Romans appear to have had a road to Holyhead by Beaumaris, as well as by Caernarvon, and as this camp is nearly opposite Aber, and would have guarded the ferry from thence, it is not unlikely that this camp is Roman. There is good evidence that Beaumaris Castle and town supplanted a previous settlement, of which Bryn Britain might have been the stronghold. Excavations in the ditches or area of the work might perhaps throw some light upon its former occupants.

Hen Blas, the ancient residence of the Bulkeleys, now sublet among various poor tenants, was next inspected. The principal and most interesting portions are the hall and kitchen, the former remarkable for its fine ceiling, with pendants in carved oak, which, however, is later than the actual roof, which was originally open, and which is now hidden by the ceiling, of about the time of Elizabeth. The panelled ceiling in the kitchen is perhaps a little later in that reign. Some original wainscot in the kitchen is also deserving of notice. Portions of the edifice still remain which are of the time of Henry VII., but the greater part belongs to that of James I. and Charles II., the older portions being the front towards the street, and two or three Perpendicular windows. A more detailed notice of this house, accompanied with an illustration of the ceiling in the hall, will be found in the Volume of the Society's Journal for 1856.

On leaving Hen Blas the excursionists proceeded to the church, the more remarkable details of which were pointed out by the Rector. It contains one of the few brasses which Wales possesses, to the memory of a Richard Bulkeley, whose identity has, we believe, not been satisfactorily made out. The character of the dresses point to the latter end of the sixteenth century; but the monument has already been described and illustrated in the Journal. There is another monument worthy of notice, and which has also been described in the Journal. It is of the fifteenth century, and though somewhat dilapidated by time and bad usage, is a handsome monument of that period; but no inscription or armorial bearings exist, nor is it known whose monument it is. There are other monumental effigies, nearly of the same character, in Penmynydd, Llandegai, and Llanbeblig Churches, also without identification. Tradition informs us that these monuments once formed the cargo of some ship intended for Spain, or elsewhere, by some speculator; but the vessel being wrecked on the coast, these monuments were saved, and distributed among the churches that now possess them. A drawing, however, of the Beaumaris monument, is given in the Dyneley MS., which, by the kindness of its owner, the Duke of Beaufort, was exhibited at the Meeting; and from this it appears that the shields, now bare, bore arms, the first of which was,—sable, a chevron between three bulls' heads argent, against which is written the name of Sands—probably a mistake for Sanders—an ancient family possessed of estates in Staffordshire, and other counties, which bore that coat, but with a chevron ermine. There are remains also of some good Perpendicular panelling, nailed on some modern pews; and, in the chancel, are two rows of stalls of the same, or rather later date, the seats of which have been taken out, and placed in a row above the stalls, displaying the under sides of the misereres. Although by such an arrangement the details may be more easily studied, yet it would be very desirable to have them restored to their original and proper positions.

The church itself, with the exception of the chancel, and the modern additions, was probably built in the early part of the fourteenth century. The piers with their arches have a later appearance, but the mouldings seem to be of that period. There are three very good Decorated two-light windows in the north and south aisles, one of which is given in the First Volume of the Third Series of the Journal, p. 157; where also will be seen the well executed heads terminating the drip of the chancel arch, and the fire-place in the belfry. The two lower stages of the tower are original work: in the upper one is the fire-place. The third stage is modern. The chancel is Late Perpendicular, and is lighted by windows of a debased character. The eastern windows also of each aisle are Perpendicular insertions of four lights.

An adjournment to the castle next took place, the circuit of which was first made under the guidance of Mr. Clark, who kindly undertook to point out the more remarkable features of this fine specimen of the Edwardan fortification. The curious kind of outwork nearly opposite one of the main entrances, the chapel, the remains of the hall, state apartments, &c., were severally pointed out; and, on returning to the centre, the party being now considerably augmented, at the summons of the President, Mr. Clark, ascending a heap of ruins in the fine old inner court, commenced with some general remarks. Beaumaris Castle, said he, possesses claims upon your notice of a somewhat peculiar character. It was not, like Dover, the key of an empire; nor like London, the citadel of a metropolis. It had not, like Berkeley, Oxford, and Kenilworth, been the scene of great historic events; no councils had been held within its walls, no "provisions" or dicta were associated with its name; it was not like Warwick, Pembroke, or Shrewsbury, inseparably connected with the titles of some of our greatest Norman nobles; nor did it display that grand combination of castle and cathedral so remarkable in Durham and Ely, so typical of the ancient union of temporal and spiritual power, and forming so great a contrast to our present political and ecclesiastical liberty. Beaumaris did not, like Lincoln, predominate over a rich and fertile plain; nor had it been, like Norwich, the pride and scourge of a wealthy manufacturing city. It had not, like Chester,

been the seat of palatine earls, who in theory almost equalled, and in practice often surpassed, their sovereign; nor could it boast that fine sylvan scenery, and that combination of parts of different styles and ages, which formed the charm of the border castles of Chepstow and Ludlow. Beauman's deserved notice, because it was a rare example of a mediæval fortress, built where the engineer had full choice of ground, and was supported by the wealth and military experience of one of the greatest of the great military race of Plantagenet. Mr. Clark then pointed out the relation of Beaumaris and the Edwardan castles of Caernarvonshire, to the great chain of Welsh and border fortresses, and how Beaumaris and Caernarvon not only commanded Anglesey and the Menai, but rendered untenable Penmaenmawr and the skirts of Snowdon, the last retreat of Welsh liberty. Then followed a rapid sketch of the general principles of fortification as practised by the Normans, and exemplified in Beaumaris, showing the great importance of flanking defences. Beaumaris, Mr. Clark observed, is a concentric castle, composed of two wards, of which the inner is a quadrangle about 50 yards square, contained within four curtains of very unusual height, and still more unusual thickness. At the four angles, and in the centres of the east and west sides are drum-towers, six in all, and the north and south sides are occupied by gate-houses. The angle towers are about 48 feet in diameter, with walls 12 feet thick, and the passage by which each is entered at its gorge passes through 22 feet of solid masonry. Three are spanned by a single stone rib to carry the floor beam; each has a well stair, and communicates with the ramparts and with triforial galleries in the curtains. The middle tower on the east side is a chapel, an oblong chamber, with vaulted roof and floor, and polygonal apse. The chamber is divided into seven bays, the five outer ones being pierced by a lancet window opening on the face of the tower. The lower stage, including the west end, is panelled with trefoled heads, having the aspect of regular Perpendicular work. The entrance is from the court by steps to a double doorway, trefoiled, and on either side are chambers, one probably a vestry, and the other, that on the north, the governor's seat, and provided with a hagioscope. There is an opening above the west end, probably for the escape of incense smoke. The north gate-house is of the usual Edwardan plan, oblong, projecting into the court, with drumtowers at the inner angles, and half round towers to the field flanking the gateway. Three portcullis grooves traverse the entrance passage, on each side of which is a porter's lodge and prison. The first floor contains the great hall, 73 feet by 23 feet 6 inches, with five windows looking upon the court, with flat headed arches of two lights, with transoms and window seats within. They are peculiar, and look later than their assigned date. Two fire-places remain, one in the north centre, one, smaller, at the ess end. The only entrances are by narrow well stairs contained within the towers. The hall also communicated with two chambers above the lodges, and these again with a portcullis chamber in the centre. There is a second story. It is clear from the inconvenient entrances to the hall that the castle was only intended to accommodate the military governor of the place. The

southern gate-house resembles the northern in general arrangement, but is of smaller dimensions. Its inner part was pulled down for the sake of the material above a century ago. The curtain walls of this ward are exceedingly curious, being perforated throughout by galleries communicating with numerous chambers all in the thickness of the wall; and below is a series of very extensive and well constructed sewers, which probably had an exit into the adjacent sea. The outer ward is an octagon in plan, inclosed by drumtowers connected by curtains. One tower caps each angle, and there is one between each pair, thirteen in all, the places of three being occupied by the gate-houses and spur-work. This ward is very narrow. The walls are low, and of moderate thickness, and looped. The requisite breadth for the rampart is given by an internal projection upon corbels. Parts of this ward are marshy, and seem to have been fish stews. The gate-houses of this ward stand obliquely to those within, so as to check a direct rush, and a sort of outwork has been added to the south gateway with the same view. The outer northern gate-house has never been completed. It is said that there was an outwork 300 yards in advance of this gate. The south gate is flanked by a long caponiere, or spur-work, which runs out from the curtain towards the sea, and contains a fine gallery with loops either way, and a broad rampart walk above. In a drum-tower upon this work is seen a large ring, to which ships are said to have been made fast. The spur has been, in modern times, perforated by an archway for a public promenade. The exterior most is said to have been filled up some years, but at high tides the sea sometimes reaches the walls. The inner ward contained ranges of buildings, no doubt mainly of timber, placed against the walls. Some of these may have been kitchens, judging from the large fire-places still seen in the wall. The marks of the draw-bridges, and the arrangements for placing bars across the entrances, deserve careful examination. Beaumaris is supposed to have been commenced in 1295, and no doubt the plan is of that date. Some of the details, however, as of the hall and chapel, seem much later. Its position is very noble, placed upon the southern shore of Anglesey, at the mouth of the Menai Strait, before one of the finest prospects in Wales. In the foreground is the sea, and beyond it the coast of Arvon, no longer "dreary," and in the distance a chain of mountains extending from Great Orme's Head and Penmaenmawr to Carnedd Davydd, Carnedd Llewelyn, and the Snowdon groupe, and displaying in full view the magnificent gorges of Aber and Nant-Francon.

After a vote of thanks to Mr. Clark for his lecture had been carried, the visitors proceeded to the house of the Rev. Dr. Hill, where they were received in the kindest and most hospitable manner. Full justice having been done to the ample provision made for them, the President returned the thanks of the Members to their host, and gave the signal to remount the carriages, which then proceeded on the road as far as the Friars, so called from the Franciscan priory, built by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth in memory of his wife Joan, who, according to Welsh chronicles, was buried on this spot. The date of her death is generally given as 1237; but by Leland (Collectanea, i. p. 455) she died the year before, and that, too, at Havering, in Essex, and was buried at

Tarente Nunnery, in Dorsetshire. Unless her body was subsequently removed to Llanfaes, of which however no record is known to exist, the two accomis contradict each other. Nor is the generally received story confirmed by the stone coffin lid which has been attributed to her, and which, now in the grounds of Baron Hill, appears to be nearer the fourteenth than the thirteenth century. And, even did not this objection of dates exist, it is not likely that the daughter of a king, and the wife of a Welsh prince, should not have been honoured with a full length effigy, or at least some ensign of royalty.

The only remaining portions of the conventual buildings are conjectured by some to have been the church. There are, however, certain peculiarities to be observed, which make this assertion very doubtful. In the upper part of the western gable are three large lancets, nearly filling up the whole space, but without external or internal mouldings. In the north wall there is also a small lancet of two orders. On the south side there do not appear any openings for windows, but in lieu of them is an archway of thirteenth century work, nearly 18 feet wide, with a doorway on its east side, also of the same data. To the west of this arch, externally, are other remains of thirteenth century work. At the east end are indications of work two centuries later. The roof is modern. The anomalies of the southern archway and door must be first explained before the popular notion of its having been the church can be accepted. It may perhaps have been a granary, many of which, especially in foreign examples, are provided with such an arch and door, although more frequently these occur in the gable than on the sides.

In the garden is a slab broken in two portions, and which should be removed to some more secure place. The pattern of the cross is of an unusual type, and has been assigned to the twelfth century.

At a short distance from the Friars is a ruin, called Castell Lleiniog in the programme, but by other authorities Porthleinioc, or Aberlienawg, the latter name being more applicable before the character of the ground was altered; for, at the time of the foundation of the castle, what is now an insignificant brook was probably a stream large enough to admit moderate sized vessels, especially at high water, as far as the rising ground on which the conical mound crowned by the ruins stands. The present ruins consist of a small square fort, with a circular tower at each corner, each tower being pierced with three small loops. The entrance, not protected by flanking towers, was probably on the east side. There are no architectural remains by which its age can be determined, but from the general character of the masonry, and other details, the present structure is certainly post-Edwardian. The only remains of the original fortress of the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, who founded it in 1098, are the conical mound, and its foss of 20 feet wide. An account of this castle is given in the Third Volume of the First Series of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

Penmon and its antiquities were next examined. These consist of the remains of the monastic buildings, the church, cross, and well, still surrounded by Cyclopean masonry.

The building called the refectory consisted of three stages, the lowest of

which, lighted up by narrow loop-holes, served, probably, either as storerooms, or, as conjectured by some, as the hospitium for strangers. The
refectory, entered on the north side by a door which, owing to the incline of
the ground, is on a level with the floor of the apartments on that side, is
lit on the north and south sides by square-headed windows, and two single
lancets at the western end. The apartment above this was, probably, the
dormitory. The battening of the south wall is remarkable. The building
may be of the thirteenth century, the date generally assigned to it; but it
contains two earlier relics in the lintels of the south door, and one of the
windows on the same side of the refectory. The first of these is a gravestone, with a very early cross; the second, the shaft of an early British cross.
Both of these monuments are figured in the Fourth Volume of the First
Series. At the east end are some buildings now used as stables; but the
exact nature of which has not yet been determined. They are popularly
known as the kitchens.

From the refectory the visitors proceeded to the church, consisting of a nave, chancel, and transepts. The northern transept and chancel were rebuilt about six years ago, when the building was repaired, at which time a new roof was given to the nave; and the east wall, and part of the south gable of the southern transept, were taken down and rebuilt. With these exceptions we have the original structure of the twelfth century-probably unique of its kind within the Principality. The elegant arcade in the south transept, the south door with its tympanum, the original buttresses still remaining, and the curious Norman stoup, placed in the north transept, deserve particular attention. The present font was placed in the church by the late incumbent, who found it in the yard of a stone-mason, at Beaumaris. It was evidently not intended originally for a font, and is, no doubt, what it is conjectured to be, the base of an early British cross, an example of which is on the adjoining hill. It is covered with the usual patterns which are assigned to dates varying from the ninth to the twelfth century. The pattern of the north side of this relic corresponds almost exactly with that of the shaft which forms the lintel of the window in the refectory already alluded to; and it is by no means unlikely that the shaft in question, and the so-called font, once formed portions of the same identical cross, which, after a long separation, have, by accident, been brought so far into their present proximity.

The dove-house, within a few paces of the church, is remarkable for its domical roof, vaulted from the square by means of overlapping stones, not unlike the vaulting of the church tower. The building, however, is, comparatively speaking, modern, being of Late Tudor.

The excursionists next proceeded to the well, which is also called a "wishing well." It is at present protected by some modern brick-work, built over the remains of original Cyclopean masonry. To the right of it, under the shelter of the projecting rock, are the foundations of a circular dwelling, once tenanted by the early missionary who seems to have built a church over what was probably an object of pagan superstition. This missionary was

probably Seiriol, to whom the Norman church is dedicated, and who had also another church on Priestholme. Penmon may therefore boast of still possessing the remains of a primæval church.

The cross, the last object mentioned in the day's programme, stands at some distance from the church, on an exposed situation, to which it has been removed for no apparent object, unless to give visitors the opportunity of enjoying the magnificent view from the high ground. This cross still preserves its base—a rare occurrence—for generally these monuments rise directly from the ground. The eastern and western sides of this base are ornamented with a sort of square pattern, the other two sides having an ornament of small depressed diamonds. On the east side of the shaft, which is the only side divided into compartments, are figures, those in the lower compartment being perhaps the flight into Egypt, the upper compartment being a figure, perhaps intended for our Lord, between two men with long robes, and heads of a bird, and apparently a fox. At the lower portion of the southern face are two stags in the act of drinking. The pattern on the western side is very similar to a kind of chain pattern found on some of the Manx crosses. (See Cumming's Runic and other Monumental Remains, plate 1.)

From the awkward manner in which the cross fits into the shaft, and the shaft into its base, it is not improbable but that we have only here the central portion of the original shaft, the other parts being now lost.

Of the date of this one of the few Welsh crosses various opinions have been given, but it does not appear to be as old as the tenth century, and is probably a hundred years later.

An illustration of the four sides will be found at p. 41, of the Fourth Volume of the Archæologia Cambrensis, First Series.

Soon after eight the Evening Meeting commenced, Mr. Babington, at the request of the President, giving an account of the excursion of the day. After congratulating the visitors on their having so unexpectedly escaped the rain, which at one time seemed to threaten them, he touched upon the principal features of the most remarkable objects they had seen during the day. As to the nature of the first camp they had visited he could give no opinion as to its character, whether British or Roman. The small castle of Lleiniog he considered of earlier date than the great Edwardian fortresses, but was not prepared to state that the actual masonry existing was not considerably later. He was struck by the anomalous buttresses. On referring to the church of Penmon, he thought the late restoration deserved the title more than was usually the case, and that the work had been well carried out. The south transept was probably the finest specimen of that style remaining in the Principality, and appeared to be nearly in its original state, with the exception of parts of the east and south sides. He believed that a competent authority thought the church as late as the thirteenth century. Unless local circumstances had in any way interfered, he should have referred it to the preceding century. After alluding to the remains of the Cyclopean masonry surrounding the well, Mr. Babington proceeded to make a few observations on the very beautiful and interesting cross they had seen, which he was inclined to consider very early, not only from the character of the patterns, but from the circumstance that the limbs of our Saviour were not crossed.

The Rev. John Griffith, after giving a brief introductory notice of the life and character of Taylor the Water Poet, read some amusing extracts from his *Diary of a Tour through Wales*, in 1652. Mr. Griffith concluded his observations and extracts by the delivery of a sermon, said to have been preached by an incumbent of Llanfyllyn.

Mr. Longueville Jones, who was next called on to give some account of the discoveries he had lately made of those invaluable records of antiquity, the incised stones of Wales, thought such records more particularly valuable in the absence of authentic MSS. earlier than the thirteenth century; but if Wales was poor in MSS. she was extremely rich in these early inscriptions, which commence from the fifth century-richer than most countries in Europe—and he hoped, therefore, that all would do their utmost to protect them from destruction wherever they occurred. Among other examples, he mentioned those of Llansadwrn and Llangadwaladr, and particularly alluded to those of Penmachno, one of which is remarkable as having the monogram of Christ, a circumstance of rare occurrence in Wales, though so common in similar monuments of the same date in other parts of Europe. One stone bore the name of Carausius, and some very bad Latin, describing him as buried under a carnedd (in hoc congeries lapidum). Another, which was known to Pennant, and rescued by Mr. Wynne, of Voelas Hall, describes a person as a Venedocian. The Members would have an opportunity of seeing one of these early monuments, namely, the one at Frondeg, where it now did duty as a gate-post, and was liable to be shivered into atoms by a common cart wheel. He hoped steps would be taken by the Association which might lead to its being removed to some more safe and appropriate site.1 After pointing out many other examples among the numerous drawings which were suspended on the walls, Mr. Longueville Jones proceeded to remark on the Ogham characters on several of those stones, the existence of which characters proved how much more intimate was the connection between Wales and Ireland than is learnt from historical records. The most important of these stones was the one the Society inspected last year at St. Dogmael's, which had been read by Dr. Graves, whose reading was singularly confirmed by the inscription on the face of the stone in Roman characters.

The President suggested, that probably some present had not a very clear idea what Oghams were, or of their supposed origin or object.

Mr. Longueville Jones entered into a short account of this occult mode of writing. Dr. Graves had devoted much time to the question, and was undoubtedly the highest authority on the subject. For his own part, he had not yet come to any satisfactory result as regarded their being anterior to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Since the Meeting Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel Park, the owner of the property on which the stone stands, has intimated his intention that the wishes of the Association shall be carried out.

Christian era or not. In allusion to the reading of the Sagranus Stone, by Dr. Graves, it was remarkable that that gentleman was positive one letter had been omitted in the copy of the inscription sent to him; and, on more careful research, it was discovered that one had escaped notice from the peculiar configuration of the stone.

Mr. W. W. E. Wynne made some remarks on the Calixtus and Porius Stones in Merionethshire, which had been noticed by the Association on the occasion of their Meeting at Dolgellau.

Mr. Longueville Jones then laid before the Meeting copies of portions of the Building Rolls of Beaumaris Castle, suggesting at the same time the propriety of having them completed, and printed by the Association.

The excursion for the next day was announced by the President, and the Meeting broke up about half-past ten.

### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 29TH.

The excursion of this day had been so arranged as to embrace some of the most remarkable of those primæval antiquities in which this part of Anglesey is richer than any other portion of the Principality, with the exception of the western districts of Merioneth and Pembrokeshire. A numerous company started at the usual time, making their first halt at Bryncelli, a farm near Hen Blas, on which remains one of the most perfect specimens of the sepulchral chamber, usually termed a cromlech. It has been surrounded by a wall for the sake of protection; but, unfortunately, the inclosed space is so choked up with briars and shrubs that access is not very pleasant, and examination not easy. It is desirable that an effectual clearance should be made, both as regards the safer preservation of the monument, and facility of inspection. In Rowlands's time there appears to have been a similar structure close to it, but long since removed, probably even before Pennant's time, for he only mentions one carnedd. A particular interest is attached to this monument from the circumstance that the gallery leading to the chamber is nearly perfect, one or two of the stones only at the narrow entrance having been removed. The great majority of these sepulchral chambers (in this country at least) are so completely devoid of all appearance of galleries, that their previous existence seems to have been ignored, and the mere chamber, or in most cases only a portion of it, has often been pronounced a druidical altar, or otherwise belonging to that mysterious cult. In this instance, however, at Bryncelli, we have a nearly perfect specimen, still retaining on the covering stones the remains of the carnedd which once covered the whole structure. The base of the original tumulus may be traced out from the rising of the ground, the base of which would have measured between 60 and 70 feet. The gallery is about 18 feet long, running from east to west, and is formed of six stones on one side, and five on the other, the insterstices being filled up with dry walling, as is usual in such examples. The chamber is an irregular hexagon, each side being a single stone, the broadest of which are about 6 feet, and the narrowest 4 feet across. One of the slabs which composed the roof has been displaced, and lies on one side. The larger one, still remaining

in its proper place, is 11 feet long. In the account Pennant gave of this cromlech, he mentions a rude pillar of stone which, standing in the middle of the chamber, supported the roof. Though he speaks of it as actually supporting the roof when he visited the place, such an arrangement is so very unusual that, even in the face of Pennant's authority, some mistake seems to have been made. There is indeed lying on the ground at present, within the chamber, a stone which answers to his description, but which appears to have been originally one of the covering-stones of the gallery at its junction with the chamber. It is not impossible, therefore, that this stone may, in Pennant's time, have been placed in a vertical position, and he might have considered it as supporting the roof. That it was not necessary is shown by the roof remaining in position, though its supposed prop is prostrate. No instance is at present known of such a central pillar in any of these sepulchral chambers. Pennant also mentions a stone bench in the chamber, on which human bones were lying, but which fell to dust at the slightest touch; but no such bench was observed on this occasion. A notice of this Celtic monument is given in the Journal for 1847.

On regaining the carriages the excursionists proceeded to Porthamel, the place generally believed to have been the point where Suetonius crossed, not far from the spot called Pant yr Ysgraf, or the Valley of Skiffs, the infantry having crossed on flat-bottomed rafts. On the Caernarvonshire side is a strong earthwork well adapted for commanding the passage. The work, however, generally called the Camp of Porthamel, is an ancient Celtic town, (and was known as such by Rowlands,) defended on the side towards the water by three lines, the outer of which is only to be partly traced. The opposite side was protected by a steep escarpment which has since undergone some alteration by the working of a stone quarry. Several depressed circular spaces exist, one or two of them still retaining their stone foundations.

The programme gave the name of an adjoining place, called Bryn-y-beddau, which could not at first be found; some, however, of the more indefatigable excursionists were at last so far successful as to discover what appeared to be three lines of graves. Some doubts were however thrown whether the term Bryn-beddau was not an error for a word of similar sound, but of very different meaning, having more to do with cow-houses than graves.

At a short distance from Porthamel is Castell Edris, or perhaps Idris. Unfortunately this work is so encumbered with thorns and underwood, that any careful examination of the lines was a matter of some difficulty. This work, although called a castell, is in fact a Celtic town, similar to the one at Porthamel, and is also defended on one side by a triple line, and on the rear by a steep precipitous bank. The high road runs through it near to and parallel to this bank. The entrances were on the side towards the Menai, and were two in number, occupying the centre of the two outer semicircular defences; the third one, according to the rude engraving in the Mona Antiqua, seems to have had no entrance at all. In the same plate is also given a kind of spur, bearing north-east, starting from the point where the present road cuts the defences.

The remains of the old church of Llanidan were next examined: but. beyond the picturesque character of the ruins, which seem to be carefully preserved, few architectural details of interest remain. Originally the church consisted of two aisles, from the southern one of which projected a chapel and a porch. The oldest portion of the church was this chapel, being Early Decorated, as is also the doorway, although destitute of characteristic The porch itself, which has a barrel vault, is entered under a mouldings. modern semicircular arch. The north door has a Perpendicular dripstone, terminated by two heads of rude execution, having almost the appearance of Norman. The remaining portions of the building, as well as those which have vanished, were of Late Perpendicular. The font, dismounted from its pedestal, is Late Norman, if not Early English, which would be very desirable to have replaced on some proper stand, in such a situation where it could be well seen. At present, lying on the ground, in a dark corner, it is liable to rough treatment on the part of curious visitors. But the same remarks apply still more forcibly to the very curious stone reliquary in the same chapel, and which, at the time of the visit, had also been found in a corner of its own. from which it was brought forth with some little trouble. Unfortunately the cover has been broken in half, most likely by some careless act in moving it. In form, it is not unlike a small stone coffin, with a coved lid. The front of it was open, through which the relics were seen, protected by stone mullions. traces of which only now remain.

Giraldus mentions, without specifying the exact locality in Anglesey, a wonderful stone, in the form of a human thigh, which invariably returned the next night to its own place, after it had been removed from thence. The famous Hugh, Earl of Chester, tried the experiment by fastening it with strong iron chains to another stone, and throwing it into the sea. It returned, howover, next morning, on which the Earl issued an edict that no man should remove it from its place. A countryman also made trial of its powers, by fastening it to his own thigh, which immediately became putrid, while the stone itself returned to its place. This is the account of Giraldus, who does not state the exact locality, but Rowlands stated that it had been for a very long period in the church-yard of this parish, whence it had been stolen in his time, and is said to be at present fixed in a wall at Porthamel. The reliquary, however, is not connected with this curious stone. All that is known of it is that it was dug up about two feet under the altar, when it contained some fragments of bones.

Passing through Bryn Siencyn, the visitors proceeded to Caerleb, a square intrenchment, protected by a double rampart in good preservation. This work is supposed by Rowlands to have been the chief Druid's principal seat, but is apparently a Roman camp, containing within its lines traces of detached stone buildings, as in the case of a similar example in the parish of Llanrhaiadr, near Denbigh, known as Hen Denbych. It was thought that the raised part in the south-east corner, and which is now circular, had been originally square, but from the engraving given in the Mona Antiqua, this conjecture seems erroneous. An ancient road, called Roman, is said to lead

from this work to the Menai Straits. It had been proposed to visit the encampment of Breingwyn, but the lateness of the hour, and the length of the day's excursion, prevented the visit being paid. The visitors, therefore, proceeded straight to Tre'rdrew, where are the vestiges of another Celtic town, one side of which was bounded by a small stream called the Braint. Several very perfect circles remain, in some of which bones and other remains were said to have been discovered. The remains of the sepulchral chamber of Bodowyr, being difficult of access, were inspected by only a few of the most active of the party. One covering-stone and three or four uprights are all that remain of what was probably a chamber and gallery, similar to that of Bryncelli. The furthest point in the day's excursion was the well-known stone on Frondeg farm, which has been already described. It is one of those early inscribed stones, to the discovery and illustration of which the Association has so largely contributed. In its present position it is doing duty as a gate-post, and may be any day destroyed by a cart-wheel; but Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, the owner of the farm, has since kindly undertaken to have it removed to a more eligible spot, where it will be protected from injury.

On returning towards Bangor the excursionists visited Plas-Coch, (an engraving of which is given in the Second Volume of the First Series of the Journal). It is a handsome Elizabethan mansion, built in 1569, by Hugh Hughes, Attorney-General to Queen Elizabeth, but has undergone some alterations, so as to give a later appearance than the actual date. Luncheon had been kindly provided for the visitors, but the lateness of the hour prevented any longer delay, as the Celtic remains in the Plas Newydd grounds remained to be examined. The first of these is a large but not very lofty tumulus. partial excavation has been made on the western side of this mound, which has laid bare what may be the commencement of a net-work of chambers, which probably extend under the whole of the tumulus. By stooping, a short passage may be traversed, which branches off to the left and right; but further advance is prevented by an accumulation of rubbish and other debris. The entrance to the passage is half closed by a slab, which appears to be the lower half of a larger slab, the other half being now lost. The portion still in its place presents some rude semicircular depressions on its upper edge; and it has, with good reason, been conjectured that the missing fragment had corresponding indentations. Similar examples of these holes occur elsewhere, as in the celebrated chamber of Gav'r Innis, where, in one of the monolithic supporters of the roof, are three such holes, which open into another chamber not yet explored. The careful excavation of this mound—a work of some expense and time—would probably lead to results which would throw light upon the cromlech question. Within a little distance, near the mansion, stand the well-known cromlechs of Plas Newydd, two in number, and of unequal sizes. The cap-stone of the larger one is of great thickness. The entrances of both face towards the west, in which direction no doubt ran the galleries that probably formed a part of the more complete structure, when covered with a tumulus, traces of which may still be made out. Possibly in these two cromlechs we have only the relics of a larger group, such as may be found, one day, to exist under the neighbouring tumulus.

The proceedings of the evening were opened by Mr. Clark, who was called upon to give an account of the day's excursion. After giving the various details of the chamber at Bryncelli, known as Yr Ogof, he stated his opinion, from the existence of the name, that the chamber, or rather the entrance to it itself, had been long known, before it had been so denuded of its covering of stones and earth, traces of which still remained. As for the term Ogof, it was identified with Fovea, Wokey Hole in Mendip, or the Wogan in, or rather under, Pembroke Castle. As to Porthamel, he had no doubt that it was a British town, defended on the side of the sea by works now nearly effaced, and on the opposite side by the natural steepness of the ground. There were several circles with raised edges, which reminded him strongly of similar traces left by Indian wigwams. They were beyond doubt the remains of Celtic houses, which are known to have been circular, and probably consisted of wattles and mud. As to the meaning of the name Porthamel, it might indeed be the port of Æmilius, or Æmilianus; but the name occurred also in the centre of South Wales. Then they went to Bryn-y-beddau, and saw what were pointed out as three lines of graves. This was an instance of the advantage of the Welsh names, which almost invariably were descriptive of the place or thing named; and in this respect he thought the Celtic nomenclature in some respects superior to that of the Saxon. They had next visited Castell Edris, a primitive fortified work, but extremely difficult to examine on account of the thick underwood. Who this particular Edris or Idris was he did not know; but the name was a well-known one, as in Cader Idris, and Lech Idris, in Merioneth, and Bod-idris, in Denbighshire. Castell Edris was a Celtic work of a semicircular form, the chord being the natural cliff running parallel to the present road. The defences had consisted of two mounds, with corresponding fosses. A third line seems also to have existed. It was impossible to ascertain whether the internal space retained any circular foundations, as at Porthamel; but the two works had points of resemblance in their outlines, and might be both Celtic fortified posts. After some little delay, access was obtained to the remains of Llanidan Church, which had originally consisted of two aisles, divided by seven four-centred arches, with octagonal piers, of good Perpendicular work. Only two of these form part of the building now standing. The north door is plain Pointed, perhaps Decorated. The south door he thought Early English, with a barrel-vaulted porch, which was entered under a round-headed arch, perhaps of modern date. The gable is supported by buttresses set on diagonally, the date of which might be Decorated. The windows are Perpendicular. The font might be called Transition Norman. and was at present without a pedestal. The remarkable stone chest, with a coved roof, was a reliquary. On their way to Caerleb, two fields were passed bearing the names of Cae-oer-yaedd, and Maes-hir-gad (the field of the cold scream, and the meadow of the long battle). Caerleb was an undoubted Roman camp, and was connected with a "sarn," or causeway, leading towards

the Menai. They had also visited some Cyttiau Gwyddelod, clearly the site of a Celtic settlement, though the defensive works could not be so satisfactorily made out as at Porthamel. They had also seen a cromlech at Bodowyr, in the middle of a ploughed field, which partly accounts for the fact that no traces of any previous mound could be made out. The chamber, as it now stands, has evidently lost two of three of the supporting stones. The Frondeg Stone, of which an account had been given to the Meeting the preceding evening, was certainly in a dangerous position, and he hoped steps would be taken to place it in some more desirable place. Mr. Clark then made a few remarks on the tumulus and cromlechs in Plasnewydd Park, and gave an interesting account of what he had himself seen in India as to the means by which enormous masses of stone were placed in elevated positions without the aid of scaffolding or complicated machinery. The practice still remained of burying a building in the course of erection in a mound of dry earth with an easy slope, up which very large stones could be dragged by main force. He mentioned particularly a tomb near Poonah where the process had gone on within the last ten years, in the midst of a large European station. It was probable that the larger cap-stones of cromlechs were raised in the same manner. The soil which composed the inclined plane would afterwards serve for the basis of the mound over the cromlech.

Mr. Octavius Morgan alluded to the remarkable cave in Glamorganshire which also was distinguished by the name Ogof. It was called Porth yr Ogof. The font they had examined at Llanidan he thought was Late Norman, and had a curious pattern, somewhat like a fleur-de-lys, though it was not one. He should be glad to hear that it was placed in a safe position where it might be easily seen. As to the stone chest, there was no doubt that it was a reliquary, and that it formerly had mullions, traces of the cusps still existing, through which the relics could be seen. As to the cyttiau alluded to by Mr. Clark, he thought that they were probably by no means such uncomfortable abodes as generally imagined. It was clear the materials with which they were erected were perishable, whether clay and wattles, or something similar to the cob walls still in use in parts of Devonshire, where houses of more than one story are built of such rude materials. The cloghauns still remaining in Ireland, built of stone, furnished the best type of these early dwellings...a type that seems naturally adopted by all primitive tribes; as for example in the circular wigwams of the American Indians. Mr. Morgan alluded also to a bas-relief on Trajan's pillar, where the resemblance of such a house is given. Connected with these dwellings was in some way connected that of what are called stone celts, but identical with which are the stone implements of daily use among the North American Indians, and other savage tribes, who, with such stone implements as the common celt, could skin a deer or buffalo as skilfully as with an ordinary knife. In fact, the same wants would everywhere, more or less, lead to the same kind of contrivances.

Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, in alluding to the remarks of Mr. Clark on the tumulus of Plasnewydd Park, stated that, about two years ago, with the assistance of some labourers, kindly placed at his disposal by Lady Willoughby

de Broke, he began excavating it. His visit was too short to allow him to continue his researches further than what they had seen that day, and which had been already described. He had no doubt that at least one, if not more, cromlechs would be found under the earth. There were, however, numerous instances of these monuments on the hills near Harlech. There was some variety among these cromlechs, there being at least one example of what might be called a demi-cromlech, where the cap-stone rested one of its edges on the ground. On a stone in Dyffryn was a remarkable figure, a rubbing of which he showed to Mr. Lukis, who had given so much attention to the sepulchral chambers in the Channel Islands, as well as to another competent authority in his own country; but these gentlemen were not agreed as to whether the figure was the result of art or nature. He thought that, generally speaking. the cap-stones found in Merioneth were larger and more massive than those he had seen in Anglesey, but was not aware of any Ogham stones in his own county. Mr. Wynne concluded his observations with some remarks on the earns of Carneddau Hengwm, and the fine British shield in his possession, which is engraved in the Archaelogical Journal.

Mr. Longueville Jones, in reference to the discussion as to Llanidan Church and reliquary, reminded the Members that he had himself given an illustrated account of it in the First Series of the Journal; and that there was no doubt as to the real character of the latter.

Professor Simpson, of Edinburgh, said that, though an old doctor, he was a very young archæologist, and had not much to say. One of the most interesting sights they had seen was, in his opinion, the old British town of Porthamel, with the numerous foundations of its circular houses. Dr. Simpson alluded to various late investigations upon these old British cities. They were found to be very common in various localities in England. Such circular beehive-shaped houses as they had found were common also as ruine in different parts of Ireland. In England the mere circular foundations only were for the most part visible, just as at Porthamel, and the other collection of them visited in Anglesey. In Ireland they had frequently more than the foundations apparent, -some of these collections of circular habitations having their walls standing still several feet high; but in that country they had not been inhabited apparently for near two centuries at least. In the old city of Fahan, in Kerry, they existed in great quantities; but all, or almost all, with the domes or roofs destroyed. On the shores, however, of the Isle of Lewis, in the Scottish Hebrides, they did not only exist, but were still inhabited at certain seasons by a population who are still almost nomadic. He thought, however, the Cambrian archeologists were perhaps too much in the habit of looking upon all their collections of houses surrounded by walls as camps instead of cities. The old Welsh fought often enough, but they were surely not always fighting, and in peace and in civil life they required cities to dwell in as much as their modern descendants; and he thought that possibly various collections of habitations on the Welsh hills and plains were really civil and not military places; towns-very generally here as elsewhere in these ancient as in more modern times fortified towns, but not camps.

There were data to prove that some of the fortified hills, whose tops were covered with ramparts, and collections of some walls and circles on the English and Scotch borders, were abodes of peace, and not of war. Thus, the mountain of Yevering Bell, in Northumberland-crowned on the top with a most enormous rampart of stones, with various divisions within the circle of its stupendous walls—was the summer palace of King Edwin in the sixth century; for Bede distinctly stated that Caelmus visited him at this the king's summer residence, and baptized for several days the converted natives in the adjoining river. After adverting to some questions relative to the cromlechs or sepulchral chambers which they had seen in their day's visit, Dr. Simpson went on to speak of the inscribed monumental stone which they had visited at Frondeg; and stated the pleasure and instruction with which they had listened to Mr. Jones's interesting communication on that subject. They had only found as yet two such inscribed stones in Scotland of the same Romano-British character—the first about eighty miles from Edinburgh—a large round monolith with a broken inscription in the usual form; but containing apparently two of the names found on one of the Welsh stones. The second analogous Scotch stone had been found as a coffin lid in Eltruck, and had not yet been fully read. More search would, he doubted not, detect more examples in Scotland. Mr. Jones's remarks appeared to him specially interesting in this respect—that some of the inscribed Welsh stones which he showed, probably of the sixth or seventh century, were perhaps the very earliest monumental notices which exist of Christianity in the British Isles. Though the Romans held Britain as a colony for about four centuries, and had left in it almost innumerable sepulchral and sacred inscriptions, they had not, he believed, left anywhere any lapidary evidence of the existence of Christianity among them. No Christian emblem, or any reference to Christianity, exists on the inscribed stones found in any of our Roman cities and stations. But there was strong indirect lapidary evidence that Christianity did exist among them in the curious fact that, in the cities placed along the Roman wall in Northumberland, at York, and elsewhere, various temples, tablets and altars had been found, dedicated to the worship of Mithras. Everywhere in the Western Roman colonies, the worship of Mithras, as an Eastern god, seems, according to both ancient and modern evidence, to have been set up as an opposition worship to Christianity—and many of the same rites and sacraments practised by the Mithraic followers. There is abundant monumental evidence in England of the worship of this spurious or opposition type of Christianity, if it may be so called; but no lapidary evidence of the existence of that true Christianity before the date of these Welsh stones, with their remarkable Eastern Christian symbols and crosses, and these, with inscriptions, which, in several instances, so distinctly marked the Christian character, and even occupation of those whose loss they were intended to commemorate.

Mr. Barnwell next read a few extracts from a MS. of the date of James I., setting forth the social abuses existing at that time in the island of Anglesey. This MS. will be shortly printed in the Journal.

Mr. Henry Thomas thought that the extracts read only tended to show

that the writer was an inveterate grumbler, and had quarrelled with the magistrates because they declined to adopt his views as to licensing ale-houses; and that so far from there being any reason to suppose matters in Anglesey were in so indifferent a condition, he thought them just the reverse, and that the magistrates had exercised sound judgment in their proceedings.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 30TH.

The General Committee met for the transaction of business at ten o'clock. Communications from the Mayor and Corporation of Swansea, and from the Governors of the Royal Institution of South Wales, requesting that the Association would meet at Swansea in 1861, were laid on the table. Hereford was also proposed as the place of meeting; but, after some discussion, it was unanimously agreed that the Association should meet at Swansea.

The following gentlemen were nominated Local Secretaries:-

The Rev. John Griffiths, M.A., for Glamorganshire;

The Rey. Thomas Hughes, M.A., for Flintshire;

Edward Williams, Esq., of Talgarth, for Breconshire;

Edward Williamson, Esq., for Cheshire;

J. E. Lee, Esq., for Monmouthshire.

The following resolutions were also passed:-

"That H. J. Hughes, Esq., of Kinmel Park, be requested to permit the Association to remove the incised stone of Frondeg to Llangaffo Church, or such other place of security as may be determined."

"That the Rev. John Griffiths be requested to take steps for removing the incised stones from Gelligaer to a secure place, at the cost of the Association; and also to draw the attention of the Bishop of St. David's to the contemplated alterations in Llanbadarn Fawr."

"That the Rev. H. L. Jones make arrangements with the Rev. H. Vincent as to the future security of the Sagranus Stone."

A resolution was also passed,—"That in consequence of certain inconveniences having arisen on more than one occasion, it was inexpedient that the Archaeologia Cambrensis should be printed in the same office as that in which the Cambrian Journal was printed; and that in case of Mr. Mason's preferring to remain as the printer of the Cambrian Journal, the Editorial Committee be authorised to remove the printing of the Archaeologia Cambrensis to any other printing office they might select."

The General Committee then adjourned.

At one o'clock the visitors and Members assembled at the Cathedral, the principal features of which Mr. Kennedy pointed out. The oldest portions are two buttresses, and the cap of a third, placed on the centre of the south gable end of the south transept, which appears to be Early English, though late in that style. The north and south doorways of the nave, the western arch opening into the tower, the jambs of the north and south windows in the transepts up to the springing of the arches, and a portion of a pier at the eastern extremity of the south aisle of the nave, are Decorated. Of the same date are also the windows in the north and south aisles, which are said to have

been removed from the old parish church, which formerly stood behind the palace. Of the south windows only one has lost its original tracery, while only one of those on the north side has retained it. The east window and font are Perpendicular, and good examples of that style. The other portions are principally the work of Bishop Skeffington, and bear the date of 1532, and are of somewhat deteriorated character. Among the monuments in the church, that of Owen Gwynedd, now blocked up in the wall behind a pew, is the most remarkable.

On leaving the Cathedral, the visitors proceeded to Penrhyn Castle, where they were hospitably received at luncheon. Near the castle are the scanty remains of a building, stated to have been a private chapel. Little more exists than some walls, and two windows of Late Perpendicular style.

Llandegai Church was next inspected, under the guidance of Mr. Morgan, the incumbent. The original church was in the form of a Greek cross, but has lately been altered by a considerable elongation of the nave. Portions of the original church may be as old as the fourteenth century. Here is found one of the four tombs already alluded to, which, however, is not so richly ornamented as the monument in Beaumaris. The other monument of interest is that of the Lord Keeper Williams.

From Llandegai Church the members proceeded to Cochwillan, the birthplace of the Lord Keeper, one of the most interesting remains of domestic architecture in the Principality, now forming part of a farm-house. The remains of the original mansion consist of the great hall, the lower part of which has been partitioned off by wainscot, and divided into two stories; the upper one of which is a perfect example of a solar, with the exception of the original windows having been built up. The space underneath, now converted into a stable, probably was the buttery, and was connected with the other buildings of the court-yards by a hatch, traces of which are still remaining. The other extremity of the hall has also been divided off by rude partitions, behind which are some of the farm buildings of modern date. The roof, of the fifteenth century, is particularly good. This hall may have formed one side of a quadrangle, evident signs of some building having joined it at right angles still remaining. As an untouched illustration of a dwellinghouse of importance of that date, this building is probably without its equal in Wales; and it is to be earnestly hoped that it will be carefully preserved, and not destroyed or altered.

At the evening meeting, in the temporary absence of the President, the Rev. Dr. Jones, V.P., took the chair, and called on Mr. James Davies to read a paper on the Churches in Herefordshire dedicated to British Saints, which paper will shortly appear in the Journal.

Mr. Longueville Jones, in alluding to the late discussion as to the Welsh character of Monmouthshire, enlarged upon the importance of gentlemen who were well acquainted with the March counties examining into names of places, facts and traditions, which might determine the geographical position of the boundaries of ancient Wales.

The Rev. J. Edwards asked if the circumstance that the Bishop of Hereford

was authorized to take a part in the revision of the Welsh Prayer-book was owing to the transference of certain parishes from the diocese of St. David's to that of Hereford.

Mr. Davies stated that the Act of Elizabeth, which directed the four Welsh Bishops to procure a translation of the Bible into Welsh, directed also that the Bishop of Hereford should be included, because Welsh was the language of part of the diocese at that time. Within forty or fifty years ago it was the language spoken on the eastern side of the Black Mountain. As to the prevalence of Welsh names in Herefordshire, the line of demarcation between the Welsh and English portions could be easily identified, and must be drawn to the left of the Wye. Some knowledge of the language, however, seems necessary to detect the origin of some of the names. Money Farthing Hill, for example, is the Anglicised version of Mynydd Fyrddyn.

Mr. Barnwell next read a paper from M. Le Men, keeper of the Archives of the department of Finistére, on certain Breton antiquities, which has since been printed in the Journal.

Mr. Longueville Jones then gave a sketch of the excursion to Penmaenmawr, stating the more remarkable objects which would be examined, if the weather permitted the excursion. Pennant had accurately described most of the stone remains interspersed among that range, which they would find, in some instances, nearly the same as when he saw them.

Votes of thanks were then severally proposed and seconded by Mr. Babington, Mr. Longueville Jones, and Mr. John Griffiths, to the Local Committee for their exertions, and to the contributors to the Temporary Museum.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 31st.

The weather being favourable, a select party of excursionists ascended Penmaen-mawr, others preferring visits to Caernarvon, Holyhead, and Llandudno. The ascent was made from Llanfair Fechan, taking in the way a ledge on the face of the precipice, pointed out as St. Seiriol's bed. It is a mere flat space upon the rock, which, from its fancied resemblance to a bed, has been probably thus identified with St. Seiriol, who had churches at Penmon, and the opposite island of Priestholm, or Ynys Seiriol.

Between this and the summit of the hill, on the left hand side, are remains of circular inclosures, marking the site of a Celtic town. The stone fortress on the summit has been already accurately described in the First Series of the Journal. After examining the numerous remains of guard-houses, or dwellings, still remaining in the thickness of the walls, a descent was made on the opposite side, passing out through the original entrance to these strong works, which are still partially protected by two small flanking circular towers of dry masonry, one of which is tolerably perfect. In the field below was found a small stone, on which some characters of uncertain form had been cut. Some thought the letters were Oghams, others thought them imperfect rude Roman numerals; but directions were given for the safe protection of the stone, which is small enough to be easily removed. Southward were seen the three carns mentioned by Pennant, which are, however,

now divided by a high stone wall, to the erection of which these burialplaces have so liberally contributed, that of two of them are only left very scanty remains. Passing on from these, the visitors came upon an ancient road, which appears to be British, and which leads by one of the finest stone circles remaining in Wales, formed of large upright stones, placed at intervals, but connected with the remains of a stone wall, or embankment, an unusual circumstance in the ordinary stone circles of the country. This circle is marked in the Ordnance map as Meini hirion, and is described by Pennant, and in the Journal of the Association.

At a considerable distance still further south is another very large circle, of a different character from the preceding one, the stones which form it being in contact with one another, and are of small dimensions. On the northwest side, and on the line of circumference, is a very large maenhir standing by itself, without any signs of other similar stones having ever existed, which probably would have been the case in such a solitary and unfrequented spot. At some little distance, however, to the north, a similar stone exists, which may have some relation to the large one attached to the circle, which is called Maen-y-Campiau, or stone of the games. From this spot some of the excursionists returned towards Bangor, the rest continued their walk across the mountain until they reached the Roman road which leads from Aber to Caerhun. Although in many parts this line is a mere grass-grown track, sometimes little more than a ditch, yet all through its length are undoubted evidences of its Roman origin. On the summit of the pass are the two meini hirion which give their name to it, one of which is prostrate. In the neighbourhood traces of circular cyttian exist, as if they once formed the abodes of a garrison which guarded the pass. Other British remains exist on the line of road to Aber, which are fully described in the Journal. The tumulus at Aber is of military character, and was once surmounted by defences, probably of wood. It may have been connected with the palace Llewelyn the Great is said to have had in this place, or an advanced work of Maes y gaer, a strong encampment, which secures the entrance of this important pass into the heart of Wales.

The only other object of interest is the house at Pen-y-bryn, a defensive structure, partially of the sixteenth century, part of which consists of a small square tower of semi-defensive character.

In the evening meeting, Mr. Babington in the chair, some details of ordinary business were discussed, and settled.

## CATALOGUE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE TEMPORARY MUSEUM DURING THE BANGOR MEETING IN 1860.

#### PRIMÆVAL.

Three stone hammers, found in the vicinity of Bangor.—Captain Jones. Stone hammer and disc (probably a weight), found, 1857, in Castell Edris, Llanidan;

Two stone weights, found at Tan-ben-y-cefn;

Spindle whorl of green stone, found on the land of Menaifron;

Spindle whorl of schist, found at Tantwr;

Three similar specimens in grit stone and schist, found at Tyddyn Prior; Quern, with ernamental pattern, found in an old quarry at Blockty, in

Lanidan, with several skulls, and other human bones;

Quern, with plain mouldings, from the same place;

Quern, found within one of the cyttiau, at Tan-ben-y-cefn. (For an account of these cyttiau, see *Archaelogia Cambrensis*, iii., New Series, p. 209);

Quern, found in 1857, at Tantwr, near Rhudd-gaer, (a Roman camp,) near which was found the spindle whorl mentioned above. This quern is remarkable for exhibiting on the under side the process by which it was kept steady during the grinding of the corn;

Quern, found in a wall in the land of Tyddyn Prior, near Tan-ben-y-cefn; Large flat upper stone of quern, found at Treifan Land, near the River Braint, above Tretwry.

Large oblong stone (granite), with concave surface, fitting a smaller stone of convex surface, which acts as a rubber. These two stones were found close together in a wall of the land of Treifan.

Rev. W. Wynn Williams.

Large cinerary urn, found in a gravel-pit at Pen-y-glanaw......Miss Roberts, Maentwrog.

Two stone implements found at Llanfair-ynghornwy. One of these stones is pierced with so narrow an aperture that it appears ill adapted to have served as a hammer.—Rev. James Williams.

A collection of thirty stone celts, from Carnac and its vicinity. (See Archæologia Cambrensis, 1860);

Carved stone hammer, found about 1840, in stubbing up a wood at Maesmore, near Corwen. (See Archwologia Cambrensis, 1860).

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

Three stone celts;

One stone discus;

An oblong stone about 8 inches long, and less than two inches broad, with an incised line forming a kind of border. The use and probable date of this stone is doubtful;

Beads called druidical (Gleinau Nadron).

Caernarvon Museum.

Skulls, and other bones, found principally at Tan-ben-y-cefn, and the Camp at Rhudd-gaer, and from Tywyn-y-Capel, Holyhead.—Rev. W. Wynn Williams.

Four bronze celts of the usual Breton type, one ornamented, found on a small island opposite Belz, near Auray;

Bronze celt, of same type, one of eighty found in a stone chamber at the foot of a menhir, in Finistère, (Archaelogia Cambrensis, 1859, p. 185);

Ornamented bronze celt;

Three bronze gouges of various sizes;

Bronze implement, probably a socket, locality unknown;

Bronze dagger, found several feet deep in the turf at Nielig, in the parish of Cyffylliog, in Denbighshire;

Small bronze celt, found at Coedmarchan in the parish of Llanfwrog, Denbighshire.

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

Five bronze celts, of the ordinary types; One paalstab.

Caernarvon Museum.

Ornamented bronze torque, found, 1832, in a quarry at Mowroad, near Rochdale.—James Dearden, Esq.

Collar in brass, stated to have been found in Bangor;

Specimens of ring money in bronze.

Captain Jones, Bangor.

#### ROMAN.

Portion of a vase of red pottery, found, 1836, on removing a heap of stones, about 300 yards to the west of the camp at Rhudd-gaer;

Specimens of Samian and other ware, fragments of mortaria, &c., from the same site, and Tan-ben-y-cefn;

Knife and iron implement (unknown), found with fragments of Samian and other ware, near Barras, Llanidan, and the Roman trackway leading from Caerleb to the interior. Many Roman coins have been found on the adjoining farm;

Two horse shoes, found about 1855, whilst removing a portion of the above mentioned trackway on Rhosfawr, near Brynsiencyn.

Portion of an iron sickle, found near the shore at Tal-y-voel, two feet below the surface of the ground;

Large green bead of glass, with guilloche pattern in yellow, found at Carn, near Brynsiencyn. A collection of smaller beads, green and plain, found at Rhudd-gaer;

Model, in wood, of Caerleb.

Rev. W. Wynn Williams

Samian and other ware, found in 1846 and 1847;

Two sickles and cultellum:

Basilidian talisman, on gold plate;

Fibulæ in gold and bronze;

Key, and bronze tweezers, and arrow heads;

An unknown article in bronze, apparently an ornament;

A collection of miscellaneous articles, chiefly in iron, one in glass;

A bronze head, forming a boss;

Votive head of horse, bronze;

A fine ornamented bronze nail:

Three counters, or markers, one of these marked with eight dots;

Two terra cotta lamps;

All these various remains have been found at different times, on the sits of Segontium, and its immediate vicinity, and form a part of the Caernarvon Museum.

Fac-simile, in silver, of a votive silver arm, found in Lancashire.—James Dearden, Eag.

Terra cotta lamps;

Terra cotta vase, with handle, the bottom terminating in a head of Silenus;

Terra cotta bottle, in the form of a human head;

Alabaster fragment, from Pompeii;

Two Etruscan vases;

Iron lamp.

J. W. Hughes, Esq.

Ear-ring;

Steelyard weight, arrow head, both in bronze.-Mr. H. Bellars.

Portions of pottery, roofing tile, and bones from Uriconium.—Rev. J. Purvis. Bronze studs, or clasps, found, 1860, at Aliscamps, Arles.—Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

#### MEDIÆVAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

Brass gilt casket, bound and ornamented with delicate iron work, the curious lock of which covers the interior of the lid, has twelve bolts which secure the four sides of the box; apparently German work;

An oblong ivory box, carved with interlaced ribbon pattern, found in cultivating a rough piece of ground between Nevin and Pistill, Caernarvonshire. This curious box is probably as old as the twelfth century;

Iron thumb screw, found in pulling down the old Parliament House in Edinburgh;

Handle, apparently of a mirror, in bronze, Venetian work;

Ancient Bell. This very curious relic was formerly kept in the church of Llangwnadl, and used to ring the children into school. In the absence of any inscription it is not easy to ascertain its date, but its diminutive proportions and quadrangular shape, and the grotesque heads by which the handle is attached to the bell, are peculiarities of a very early date, as early as the eighth and ninth centuries. For an account of it, see Archaelogia Cambrensis, 1849, p. 167, where an accurate illustration is given.

T. Love D. Jones Parry, Esq.

Bronze cup, found under an oak tree near Conway Castle;

Iron flap-jointed collar;

Pewter spoon, found in digging the foundations of the Roman Catholic Chapel in Bangor;

Silver spoon, with bowl in form of leaf, pierced with an oval, filled up with filigree work, and SN in Monogram. This spoon was found near Penmaen Bach, about 1840;

Brass inscribed plate, 1682;

Glass bottle;

A bronze strap, with trilobated ends, inscribed in Greek capitals

#### ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΑΛΑΙΕΥΣ.

A piece of a similar but smaller strap, with square end, inscribed INO; These two inscribed plates of bronze are said to have been discovered very lately in Anglesey.

Two celts of jade, or nephrite, from the South Sea Islands.

Captain Jones.

Encaustic tile, from the Friars, Beaumaris.—Mr. Humphreys.

Embroidered quilt (temp. Elizabeth);

Brass candlestick, found at Nannau (temp. James IL);

Carved snuff-box:

Ancient china plates.

Miss Roberts, Maentwrog.

Fragments of pottery, from French trenches before Sebastopol.—J. W. Hughes, Esq.

Small Egyptian celt, and portion of a knife in obsidian.—Mr. H. Bellars.

Curious oaken grater.—Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

Gold ring, found about 1834, under a stone at Cwm Llech, in the vale of Pennant Melangell. On the bevel is cut a lion passant. Iorwerth Drwyndwn (whom tradition states was slain not far distant, at a place called Bwlch Croes Iorwerth), was buried in the church-yard, where his effigy on a tomb-stone is still pointed out (See Archæologia Cambrensis, 1848, p. 227). There is nothing as regards the actual antiquity of this ring to interfere with the conjecture that it may have been once worn by Drwyndwn.—The Dean of St. Asaph.

Ancient lock;

Remains of iron gun and spurs;

Iron Key;

Three small mangonels. All these articles were found in Caernarvon Castle
Caernarvon Museum.

A fine two-handed sword, with wavy blade;

A two-handed sword, with ivory handle, on which are carved the Virgin and child. Half the blade is broken off;

Three rapiers, with curious twisted hilts. In one of them the hilt is inlaid with silver;

Two cup-hilted rapiers. One of these was found on Naseby field;

Headsman's axe. German;

Moorish battle axe, of the sixteenth century, found in pulling down part of the town wall of Tarifa. It is ornamented with figures of Venus and Cupid in fair classic style, though such representations are forbidden by the Koran:

A cross bow, with crank, &c.

T. Love D. Jones Parry, Esq.

Two cross bows.-J. W. Hughes, Esq.

COINS, MEDALS, AND CASTS OF SEALS.

Silver pennies of Canute, dug up with bones in a tumulus on a farm near Penarth Fawr, in Llanarmon Eifionydd;

Early British coins, gold and silver; examples of the Jersey type, copper; Casts of all the Gaulish and Early British coins in the British Museum. T. Love D. Jones Parry, Esq.

Gaulish silver coin, size of large didrachma; rev. horse.

Gaulish silver, found near Marseilles.

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

A large collection of first and second brass Roman coins.—Mr. Henry Bellars. Roman small brass, taken from a vase found at Uriconium about 1820;

Various other coins;

Portuguese money weight.

Rev. J. Purvis.

A small collection of silver coins, mostly of Queen Elizabeth.—Miss Roberts, Maentwrog.

Casts of seals of Geoffrey de Henelawe, Bishop of St. David's, 1203.— Albert Way, Esq.

Casts of the seals connected with Wales, by Ready.—Caernarvon Museum.

#### BOOKS, MANUSCRIPTS, AND DRAWINGS.

The Dinely Manuscript, profusely illustrated with pen and ink sketches of places and houses in Wales, in the seventeenth century, being an account of the first Duke of Beaufort's progress through Wales, 1684.—The Duke of Beaufort.

The Liber Pontificalis of Anian, Bishop of Bangor.—The Dean and Chapter of Bangor.

Parentalia, an account of the funeral of the Princess Clementina, with the plates of the lying in state and funeral procession.—Mr. Bellars.

Plain and coloured prints of discoveries at Wroxeter.—Rev. J. Purvis.

Cingalese manuscript, written on palm leaves.—Mr. George Davies.

A collection of architectural drawings and engravings.—Henry Kennedy, Esq. Rubbings of incised stones from Newborough Church.

A collection of rubbings, from the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, and the Rev. Dr. H. Jones, F.S.A.

Dr.

#### BANGOR, 1860.

Cr.

#### STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE LOCAL COMMITTEE.

	£	8.	D.		£	8.	D.
Received for Tickets and				Advertisements	3	1	6
Admission	10	5	0	Printing	2	2	6
Received for Museum	0	17	6	Postage of Circulars	2	2	1
	-	-		Stationery			
				Reporter			
				Carriage and Package of			
				Parcels		14	5
				Carpenter, Plumber, Hire			
				of Chairs, &c		15	2
				Attendants and Watchman			
•				Curator of Museum, and		_	
				Travelling Expenses		10	C
				Gas	0	6	Č
				Fees, &c		8	Ö
Deficiency to Balance	17	16	7				11
•	£28	10		-	£28	70	

C. C. BABINGTON, Chairman.

October 23, 1860.

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